

GANDHIAN GEMS

TEACHING

OF

Mañatma Gandhi

On more than FIVE HUNDRED Topics.

COMPILED BY :

Professor Ram Swarupa Kaushala,

M. A., M. S. P.,

STANDARD PUBLISHING CO.,
AMBALA CITY.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

First Edition]

[Rs. 5/-/-

FOREWORD

We have lived too close and near, in the life-time of Mahatma Gandhi to evaluate, in proper perspective, his contribution to India and to the world. Yet certain things stand out clear and distinct even to a casual observer of Gandhiji's life and work. In the twentieth century of Science, he seemed enigmatic to many. Much of this was due to the fact that he was both a politician and a saint.

Humanity, in its trials, experiments and errors, has one redeeming factor. In all ages and climes, it has produced seers and prophets. So order has held its own in the midst of confusion. Faith and progress have survived.

Gandhiji entered the country's life, when *Swaraj* was a distant dream. Today, it is a reality. He influenced our life, touching and moulding three generations. There are a number of instances, where father, son and grandson have received inspiration from him in the political and social field. He was not a mere idealist. He had become the central figure of

(b)

our revolution. His contribution in making Congress a mass organisation was outstanding and yet more so, because he did not take to impure ways to achieve this.

He was no tyrant who commanded any army. He held no visible physical strength against a mighty Empire. Then what is the message of his life and secret of his success ?

He was a ceaseless worker for the forces of good; always wedded to the highest of human welfare, and having no personal ambitions or ends, he took none as his enemy. His only position was "Search for Truth." He aspired to reach truth in the service of humanity. He compromised liberally, but never at the cost of truth. Where he believed a cause as truthful, he stuck to it fearlessly. No physical force, however mighty, fierce or cruel, could deter him from pursuing it. It was because of his passion for truth that, whenever he erred, he had the urge and the humility openly to admit even his 'Himalayan mistake.' Only the truthful can have the courage to do so.

Gandhiji was never tired of his insistence on constructive programme. The freedom that we have won under his leadership will evaporate in no time without a strong foundation of a constructive programme. Unless we create the atmosphere of truth and service, the hard-won freedom will be a tool in the hands

of a few to rule and exploit the many. None of us has worked, suffered or died for such a picture of *Swaraj*.

Professor KAUSHALA has rendered a nice service by presenting to us Gandhiji's mind on various topics. Persons in all walks of life and in every strata of society will receive guidance as well as inspiration from this collection of priceless "GANDHIAN GEMS."

I must, however, express a misgiving and a warning that these do not lead us to any blind dogmatism because of our high regard and reverence for the Mahatma. We must interpret and apply the eternal truths contained in these GEMS on our own, and must gather courage of our convictions. We have perhaps grown in the habit of over-reliance on the word of Gandhiji, more than the spirit and substance thereof. Gandhiji never liked or encouraged this. We must learn to stand on our legs, no matter how many times we have to attempt it. No democracy can work for any length of time unless we do so.

Professor KAUSHALA deserves thanks for his public service in bringing out this book, which my countrymen will do well to peruse and ruminate.

30, Akbar Road, New Delhi.

G.V. MAVALANKAR
(Speaker, Parliament).

(d)

GANDHIAN PRINCIPLES WILL TRIUMPH !

India's Mission:: To Guide World !

With the advent of freedom, the political, social, and economic forces are in a state of churning in India when everyone of us is required carefully to examine the good and evil.

I have no doubt in the ultimate victory of the preachings of Gandhiji over the evil forces of hatred, selfishness—national and international—and mutual prejudices.

In Mahatma Gandhi's experiments with *Satyagraha* and non-violence, India has found the remedy for slavery and it is now the duty of free India to apply the same weapons on a universal basis in order to fulfil the dream of Mahatma Gandhi who wanted the entire humanity to live in dynamic peace and prosperity.

It is impossible for the Government to maintain peace and tranquility by the police and military alone unless there is change in the bottom of the hearts of every man and woman to live as brothers and sisters.

India has a mission of its own—to serve humanity as the spiritual guide to the fine sentiments of mankind.

(e)

Re-affirming my faith in the principles of Mahatma Gandhi I call upon every man and woman to follow the ideals preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi. That alone will solve the present-day ills of India in particular and the world in general.

Swaraj was only the means to attain the higher form of society in which everyone would live a life of freedom in letter and spirit. Freedom meant increased responsibilities to the service of the people.

The world could benefit only if it accepted the principles of service and sacrifice enunciated in the cult of *satyagrah* and non-violence.

RAJENDRA PRASAD.

(f)

GREAT IDEAS

For 32 years, ever since my first meeting with Gandhiji, I have been silently engaged in constructive work. Today, with other constructive workers like Shrimati Janki Devi and Jaju Saheb, I have come to carry on the mission in which Gandhiji has given his life. *Swaraj* has come, but it has been followed by a great deterioration in the atmosphere.

Gandhiji wanted to change that atmosphere; we would work towards the same end. We would try to alleviate suffering and do what we can for refugees. But our main task is to fight against the widespread feeling of hate. The state has its functions but the work of dissemination of love could only be undertaken by the people themselves.

That would be the duty of those outside the ranks of Government and they should fulfil it regardless of results and undeterred by obstacles in the same way that a river sets out on a long course for the ocean and persists till it either reaches the objective or perishes on the way. Its method of dealing with obstacles in the shape of hollows in the earth is to fill them and to proceed with such resources as it may still possess undeviated in its aim.

We must give up all idea of *Hindu Raj*. We must not associate religion with state power. That

this tendency was dangerous, besides being out of tune with the times, was clear from many instances in history. We must not ignore the lessons of the past. There are instances in history of efforts to mix up religion with material power, but those that had tried it had harmed both. Religion, according to Hinduism's greatest propagator, Śaṅkarācārya, can employ no other weapon than that of knowledge or enlightenment. Religion, in fact, springs from enlightenment, which could never be brought about by force.

Many Hindus believed in the doctrine of rebirth. Could this doctrine be forced on anyone through any law or by the use of the state power? If such a course was tried, it would lead to persecution not only of non-Hindus but also of those Hindus who do not believe in the doctrine.

Since religion, after all, is nothing more than a collection of such beliefs, it is clear that it cannot be made the basis of the state.

There is at the moment much talk of another world war. My hope is that it would not come in the near future. But since the danger is there, India has to decide her course. If, as is often argued, India can be affected by happenings outside, she should also be in a position to influence the rest of the world. Like the planets and even human beings, countries too have their own atmosphere. If India, following the ideals of Gandhiji, maintains peace, the rest of the world cannot remain unaffected.

(h)

India has now to offer to the world a living example of a new ideal and a new way of life. It is difficult. But man is a sentient being and thus need not feel helpless. Man was never helpless. If the people follow the ideals of unity and peace, they can assume leadership of the world and even succeed in averting the danger of another great war.

India can use only moral power. The world is looking towards India for a lead as has become clear after Gandhiji's death. All over the world people have expressed admiration for his ideals and stressed the need of faith in what he stood for. By following his ideals India can thus not only maintain her prestige, but do great service to the world. Two thousand years ago the sage Manu had prophesied that India could be the source of GREAT IDEAS which other countries would adopt. The ancient seer's prophecy has been fulfilled by the coming of Mahatma Gandhi.

VINOBA BHAVE.

Every Word..... A Precious Pearl !

"Mahatma Gandhi was like the mountain, the huge dimensions of which can be realised only from some sufficient distance. We are yet too near him to assess his greatness.

"In the ages to come, the coming generations will look upon him as a saint, who trod the path of Socrates, Christ and Buddha.

"Every word that fell from his revered lips will be devoutly treasured as a precious pearl."

(The Tribune)



MAHATMA GANDHI

A Life of Dedication

TO

SERVICE OF HUMANITY,

(OCTOBER 2, 1869—JANUARY 30, 1948).

—:(b):—

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS.

This is the chronicle of Mahatma Gandhi's life. It is more than that. It is the chronicle of the birth of a nation and what one man achieved to be universally acknowledged as its Father.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

1869 : Mohandas Karamchand Gaandi, born at Porbandar (Kathiawad), otherwise known as Sudamapuri, on October 2, youngest son of Karamchand Gandhi, *alias* Kaba Gandhi, by his fourth wife, Putlibai, who bore him a daughter and three sons. For two generations Gandhis were Prime Ministers in Kathiawad States. In Porbandar Mohandas attended elementary school.

AT PRIMARY SCHOOL

1876 (Age 7) : Karamchand Gandhi left Porbandar for Rajkot to become a judge. Mohandas

there in primary school for five years.

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE

Betrothed to Kasturbai, daughter of Gokuldas Makanji, merchant. Kasturbai born in 1869.

1881-84 (Age 12-15): In Kathiawad High School at Rajkot. Remained there until he matriculated in 1887.

Married Kasturbai in 1883 when thirteen. "I can see no moral argument in support of such a preposterously early marriage."

A RELIGIOUS CRISIS

While still in fourth standard went through religious crisis. One of his few friends led him astray. Wave of "reform" was sweeping through Rajkot. "Behold the mighty Englishman; he rules the Indian small, because being a meat-eater, he is five cubits tall," was a popular doggerel among schoolboys. "If the whole country took to meat-eating the English could be overcome," thought Mohandas. Gandhi family strenuously opposed to meat-eating. Mohandas chose secret place for experiment, which he persisted in for about a year. Then abjured meat for ever. Mohandas became fond of smoking, but later abandoned habit.

AN OBJECT LESSON IN AHIMSA

When fifteen he stole a bit of gold but confessed to father in writing with request for adequate

Punishment and pledged never to steal again. As father read letter, tears trickled down his cheeks. Mohandas also shed tears seeing father's agony. "Those pearl drops of love cleansed my heart and washed my sin away.....This was for me an object lesson in *ahimsa*. Then I could see in it nothing more than a father's affection."

TOLERATION FOR ALL FAITHS

1885 (Age 16): Father died at age of 63, pensioner of Rajkot State.

In sick-bed father discussed with Parsi and Muslim friends about their faiths. Mohandas, nursing his father, listened to these discussions and developed toleration for all faiths.

FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND

1887-88 (Age 18-19): Joined Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Kathiawad. Found studies difficult and at the end of first term returned home. Family friend suggested law studies in England.

PLEDGE WHICH WAS KEPT FOR EVER !

Mother d'd not like idea of parting with him, but finally consented, Mohandas solemnly promising not to touch wine, women and meat. Orthodox caste people agitated over his going abroad. Mohandas refused to listen.

OUTCASTE !

Headman of community pronounced : " This

boy shall be treated as an outcaste from today. Whosoever helps him or goes to see him off at the dock shall be punishable with a fine of one rupee and four annas."

Despite opposition, with help and permission of brother, Mohandas in company with Junagadh lawyer sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888. Reached Southampton towards end of month. On boat wore black coat and white flannel. Stepped ashore in white flannels—"only persons wearing such clothes."

"GENTLEMAN"!

Purchased new clothes suitable for English society, also silk hat. Took six lessons in dancing but found it difficult to follow rhythm. Began learning violin to cultivate an ear for western music. Took lessons in elocution and French. Soon discontinued pursuing false ideal of becoming "gentleman," and determined to make complete change in life.

VOTARY OF SIMPLE LIVING

1889-91 (Age 20-22) : Kept account of every farthing he spent. Decided to reduce cost of living by half. Lived by himself instead of with a family. Walked eight to ten miles a day and saved fare. Read books on simple living and began cooking breakfast. Lived on 1s, 3d. a day.

FIRST PUBLIC SPEECH

Made first public speech in a gathering of vege-

tarians in London, broke down miserably over it.

Period of intensive study. Appeared for London Matriculation Examination for second time and passed,

GITA IMPRESSES

Towards end of second year in England met two theosophists with whom he read Arnold's *The Song Celestial*. Invited to read original (*Gita*) with them. He had never read *Gita* before either in Sanskrit or Gujarati. Book impressed him immensely. Later it became book of daily reading.

Present at funeral of Bradlaugh, the atheist.

Attended lectures by Dadabhai Naoroji, but spoke to him only once.

BACK IN INDIA

1891-93 (Age 22-24) : Called to Bar, June 10, 1891. On June 12, sailed for India reaching Bombay in July. Sad news of mother's death, which had occurred while he was in England.

PRACTICE STARTED

Lived in Rajkot for a time. Went to Bombay to gain experience in High Court. Found it impossible to establish practice there. On average earned Rs. 300 a month.

AN UNPLEASANT HAPPENING

On behalf of brother saw Political Agent, known to him. He refused to hear Gandhiji and turned him out. Sought advice of Sir Phirozeshah Mehta who observed : "Gandhi is still fresh from England.....He does not know British officers..... He has yet to know life."

Found life in Kathiawad choked with intrigue and quarrel with Political Agent stood in way of practice.

Abdulla & Co., Muslim firm from Porbandar, offered work in South Africa, which he accepted.

IN SOUTH AFRICA

1893-94 (Age 24-25) : Gandhiji left for South Africa in April 1893. Reached Natal towards close of May. Dressed in frock-coat and turban. Observed Indians were held in scant respect by Europeans.

"UNWELCOME VISITOR !"

On second or third day visited Durban court. Magistrate asked him to take off turban, which he refused to do and left court. Wrote to Press about incident defending wearing of turban. Press described him as "unwelcome visitor." Wide publicity

"COCLIES" !

Saw Indians divided. Muslim merchants called themselves Arabs, Parsi clerks Persians. Largest

class composed of Tamil, Telugu and North Indian indentured labourers. Englishmen called them "coolies," and as majority belonged to labouring class all Indians were dubbed "coolie" or "sammy." Gandhiji known as "coolie barrister."

DETERMINATION TO ROOT OUT COLOUR PREJUDICE

On seventh or eight day after arrival, Gandhiji left Durban for Pretoria. First-class seat booked. Same night at Maritzburg, capital of Natal, white passenger did not like "coloured man" occupying seat in same car. An official came to Gandhiji and said, "Come along, you must go to the van." When Gandhiji refused constable pushed him out. On station platform Gandhiji sat and shivered in cold. Determined to try to root out colour prejudice and suffer hardships if necessary.

INSULTED AND ASSAULTED

Same night he took train, reached Charlestown in morning. Then journeyed by coach. Conductor who usually sat by driver compelled Gandhiji to sit outside, himself occupying seat inside. After few hours conductor occupied Gandhiji's seat asking him to sit at his feet. On Gandhiji refusing, white boxed his ears. Swearing at Gandhiji, he dragged and belaboured him. Gandhiji clung to brass rails on coach-box remaining still. After dark reached Standertan and was received by Dada Abdulla's friend. Wrote letter informing agent of coach company of whole affair, but had no intention of proceeding against assaulter.

REFUSED ACCOMODATION IN HOTEL

Reached Johannesburg that night. Went to Grand National Hotel but was refused accommodation.

RELIGIOUS DEVOTION

With devout Christians said prayers daily. Kept religious diary.

PRETORIA MEETING

Gandhiji now in full possession of facts about Indians in South Africa. Called meeting of Indians in Pretoria presenting picture of conditions in Transvaal. Principally attended by Memon merchants. Hindu population in Pretoria very small.

FIRST POLITICAL SPEECH

Gandhiji made his political speech. Stressed necessity of truthfulness in business, cleanliness and unity among Indians of all communities. Contacted almost every Indian. Gave adult education.

OPPORTUNITIES OF PUBLIC WORK

Studied conditions of Indian in Transvaal and Orange Free State. Year's stay in Pretoria most valuable experience. Had opportunities of public work and acquired capacity for it.

AN UNUSUAL READER

Read widely this year "quite eighty" books, whole Bible, *Koran*, Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God*

Is Within you, Max Mueller's India—What Can It Teach Us?, Sayings of Zarathushtra, Upanishads, etc.

Case that had brought Gandhiji to South Africa settled by arbitration in 1894. He returned to Durban *en route* to India. At farewell entertainment by Dada Abdulla, saw copy of *Natal Mercury*. Chanced to see paragraph under caption "Indian Franchise." Natal Government about to introduce Bill to disfranchise Indians, who urged Gandhiji to stay on. Consented to do so for some time.

FIRST PETITION BY INDIANS TO SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATURE

Same night Gandhiji drew up petition to be presented to Legislative Council. Committee appointed and telegram sent in its name to Government requesting postponement of Bill. First petition ever sent by Indians to South African Legislature. Within a month memorial with 10,000 signatures forwarded to Lord Ripon—Colonial Secretary. Meetings held every day, largely attended.

URGED TO STAY ON

Gandhiji asked leave to return to India but people urged him to stay on. Offered regular salary but declined remuneration for public work.

ADMITTED AS ADVOCATE

Gandhiji applied for admission as advocate of Supreme Court of Natal. Natal Law Society

publish. Replies sent to unfair attacks on Indian community. Organizations formed in Transvaal and Capetown on Natal model.

MADE UP MIND TO SETTLE IN NATAL

1896 (Age 27): Gandhiji spent two years and half in Natal, doing mostly political work. Established fairly good practice. Sensed people felt need of his presence. Therefore, made up his mind to fetch wife and children from India and settle in Natal.

IN INDIA

In middle of the year Gandhiji went to India for six months. Saw Indian Congress leaders and others—Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, Justice Badruddin Tyabji, Justice Ranade, Lokamanya Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

Preparation for celebration for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Gandhiji joined Rajkot committee for the purpose. Taught British National Anthem to family children and students of Training College. Had learnt the anthem because it was sung in Natal at every meeting. "Hardly ever have I known anybody to cherish such loyalty as I did to the British Constitution." Later on "Scatter the enemies" etc., jarred on him.

ON THE PLAGUE COMMITTEE

Gandhiji. joined Plague Committee when

plague broke out in Rajkot. Inspected city latrines, etc., getting them cleaned.

ANTI-WHITE FEELING IN INDIA

Accounts of suffering Indians in South Africa stirred feeling in India. *Reuter* cabled to England highly coloured summary of pamphlet by Gandhiji "A pamphlet published in India declares that the Indians in Natal are robbed and assaulted and treated like beasts and are unable to obtain redress." In South Africa Gandhiji charged with besmirching good name of colony.

BACK TO NATAL

While arranging meeting in Calcutta, Gandhiji received cablegram from Natal asking to return at once. He returned to Bombay, immediately booked passage by first available steamer and with wife and children—eight and four years of age—set sail second time for Natal on November 28.

"AN UNUSUALLY WARM RECEPTION, INDEED!"

1897-98 (Age 28-29) As soon as Gandhiji landed, some European youngsters recognized him and shouted, "Gandhi, Gandhi!" Mr. Laughton, well-known advocate, hailed rickshaw. But youngsters would not let Gandhiji get in. They pelted him with stones, brickbats and rotten eggs. Someone snatched away his turban whilst others began to batter and kick him. He fell, catching hold of front railings of a house. Assai-

ants did not allow him to recover breath but beat him. Wife of Police Superintendent, who knew Gandhiji happened to pass by and stood between crowd and him. This checked mob.

ESCORTED BY POLICE

Meanwhile police made ring round Gandhiji and escorted him to police station. A doctor friend rendered help. Gandhiji asked to take refuge in station but declined offer. "They are sure to quite down when they realize their mistake," Gandhiji said. "Have trust in their sense of fairness." Escorted by police he arrived without further harm at Rustomji's house where his family was putting up.

WHITES SURROUND HOUSE

Whites surrounded house. "We must have Gandhi," yelled crowd, and Police Superintendent sent Gandhiji message: "If you would save friend's home and property and also your family, you should escape from the house in disguise, as I suggest".

MAKES HIS WAY IN INDIAN CONSTABLE'S UNIFORM

A Gandhiji put on Indian constable's uniform and wore on his head metal basin hidden under Madras turban. Two detectives accompanied him, one disguised as Indian merchant, his face painted. Gandhiji made his way through gunny bags, jumped fences and reached same police station where he

had been offered refuge before.

REPLY TO NATAL GOVERNMENT

Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, cabled Natal Government to prosecute Gandhiji's assailants. Gandhiji replied Natal Government: " I do not want to prosecute anyone....I do not hold the assailants to blame. They were given to understand that I had made exaggerated statements in India about the whites in Natal, and calumniated them...the leaders, and if you will permit me to say, you are to blame...I do not want to bring anyone to book. I am sure that when the truth becomes known they will be sorry for their conduct. "

PRESTIGE OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY ENHANCED

Whites ashamed of their conduct. Press declared Gandhiji innocent and condemned mob. " Thus the lynching ultimately proved to be a blessing for me, that is, for the cause. It enhanced the prestige of the Indian community in South Africa, made my work easier, and the experience prepared me for the practice of *Satyagraha*. "

CHANGE IN LIFE

Gandhiji during this period made thorough change in his life. Started washing his clothes. Bought book on washing, studied the art and taught it to wife. Refused entry in English hair-cutting shop in Pretoria, he purchased clippers and cut his hair before mirror.

SONS NOT SENT TO SCHOOL

Did not like the idea of sending his sons to schools where others were not allowed. The boys acquired knowledge through his conversation with them, strictly in mother-tongue, Gujarati.

LONGING FOR HUMANITARIAN WORK

Gandhiji longed for humanitarian work of permanent nature and daily worked a few hours in a small hospital. It brought him in close touch with indentured Indians—Tamil, Telugu and North Indian men.

STRIVING AFTER SELF-CONTROL

Studied *Advice to a Mother*, nursed his babies and served as midwife at birth of last baby. Did not desire any more children and began to strive after self-control. It became his conviction that procreation and care of children were inconsistent with public service.

BOER WAR

1899-1900 (Age 30-31): Boer War. Gandhiji's personal sympathies with Boers, but believed he had yet no right, in such cases, to enforce individual convictions. Loyalty to British rule drove him to participation with British.

"EMANCIPATION OF INDIA ONLY WITHIN AND THROUGH EMPIRE"

Held then that India could achieve emancipation only within and through Empire.

worth twelve annas and got a big coat of Chhaya wool. Bag was to contain the coat, *dhoti*, towel and shirt. He had blanket and water jug. Journey was from Calcutta to Rajkot. Gandhiji planned to halt at Benares, Agra, Jaipur and palanpur *en route*. In each city he stayed one day, and put up at *dharmshalas* or with *pandas* like ordinary pilgrims. Spent Rs. 31 including train fare on journey. In travelling third class he preferred ordinary to mail trains.

AGAIN LEFT FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Gandhiji opened his office in Bombay about March 1902. Hardly three or four months there when he received cablegram from South Africa stating situation serious. Wound up office and started by first available steamer near end of 1902.

TREATED UNFAIRLY BY OFFICIALS

1903-05(Age 34-36): Reached Pretoria on January 1, 1903. Officials new and unapproachable. Asiatic Department was created, and those in charge had no sympathy with Indians. Gandhiji attempted to contact Davidson, head of the Asiatic Department, but failed. Only after repeated efforts was able to see Davidson, who referred him to his assistant. Assistant censured resident Indians for inviting their leader to Transvaal, saying that he was there to look after their interests. Rated Gandhiji soundly for coming to colony. Officials afraid of Gandhiji.

GANDHIJI'S STAY CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL

Became increasingly clear to Indians that

Gandhiji must remain in Transvaal and fight battle ! chiefly in law courts.

ENROLLED ATTORNEY OF SUPREME COURT

Application for his admission as advocate made. In April, 1903, Gandhiji enrolled as fully qualified attorney of Supreme Court.

TRANSCAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOUNDED

Founded Transvaal British Indian Association of which, until his final return to India, he was honorary secretary and legal adviser.

SERVICE OF PLAGUE-STRICKEN INDIANS .

On March 1, 1904, Gandhiji received note that Indians were being brought from mines, dying or dead, stricken with plague. At once Gandhiji took matter in hand.

AS EDITOR OF " INDIAN OPINION "

About this time, 1904, Gandhiji accepted responsibility for editing weekly, "*Indian Opinion*," published in English, Tamil, Gujarati, and Hindi, dealing with problems of Indians in south Africa. Into it put his savings, about £2,000.

" GUIDE TO HEALTH " आरोग्य दिग्दर्शन

Wrote series of articles in Gujarati on dietetics, later published in book form and translated into

AMBULANCE CORPS RAISED AND DISBANDED

Collected corps of 1,100 strong, between 300 to 400 being ex-indentured Indians, with 40 leaders. With great difficulty got their services accepted as ambulance corps. Rank and file received ordinary bearer's pay; leaders gave services free. Indian merchants supplied stores and uniforms.

Corps disbanded after six weeks' service. Newspapers published laudatory rhymes with refrain, "We are sons of Empire after all."

CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF REQUEST FOR RELIEF

On return from war duty, Gandhiji felt his work was more in India than in South Africa, and requested co-workers to relieve him. Had stayed there six years instead of one month originally intended. Request accepted on condition he should return, if within a year community needed him.

SENSE OF DUTY TO MOTHERLAND AWAKENED

He awakened in Indian settlers sense of duty to motherland. They contributed handsomely for famine relief in India in 1897 and 1899. Indentured Indians gave their share.

"NO GIFTS SHOULD BE ACCEPTED BY PUBLIC WORKERS"

'1901-02' (Age 32-33): Gandhiji left for India towards close of 1901. Overwhelming farewell

Gifts, gold, silver, diamonds, even costly necklace, presented to Kasturbai, which he handed over to community to be held in trust for its service "Conviction has ever grown on me that a public worker should accept no gifts."

BECOMES CONGRESS VOLUNTEER

Attended Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December 1901. Enrolled himself as volunteer. Gave volunteers some object lessons in sweeping and scavenging. Worked as clerk and bearer to one of the general secretaries to gain experience.

GOKHALE AND GANDHIJI

Moved resolution on situation in South Africa, thanks to Gokhale, who ever since Gandhiji's arrival treated him as younger brother. Gokhale took keen interest in all his activities. Gandhiji met Phirozeshah Mehta, Dinshah Wacha, Chimanlal Setalvad, Lokamanya Tilak, Motilal Ghosh and Surendranath Bannerjee.

"THE PROMINENT PLACE OCCUPIED BY THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE"

"I noticed the huge waste of time. I observed with sorrow even then the prominent place that the English language occupied in our affairs."

PAID FLYING VISIT TO BURMA

Before settling down made tour through India, travelling in third class. Gokhale gave him a metal tiffinbox. Gandhiji purchased canvas bag

English called *Guide to Health* which profoundly influenced lives of many readers in east and west.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

Read Ruskin's *Unto his Last* in 1904 on way to [Durban by train resulting in revolutionary change in outlook. Determined to change his life in accordance with its teaching.

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

First fruit of this determination was decision to remove *Indian Opinion* to a farm where everyone should labour, drawing same wage, and attend to press in spare time. Each individual's monthly allowance fixed at £3. Thus Phoenix Settlement established. Shed soon erected for press by help of Indian carpenters who had worked with him in Boer War. First number of *Indian Opinion* from settlement printed by hand-power as engine refused to work. "I had thought that hand-power would be more in keeping with the atmosphere where agricultural work too was to be done by hand."

ZULU "REBELLION"

1906 (Age 37) : Zulu "Rebellion." Gandhiji decided to break up Johannesburg home, sent wife and children to Phoenix. As in Boer War, loyalty to empire made him offer services. Wrote to Governor volunteering to form Indian Ambulance Corps. Offer accepted.

INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS FORMED AGAIN

Gandhiji saw rebellion was virtually a no-tax

campaign. Indian Corps worked for nearly six weeks. Whites not willing to nurse wounded. Zulus. Wounded in Gandhiji's charge taken prisoners as suspects and the General sentenced them to be flogged. Indian Corps attached to swift-moving column and twice or thrice Gandhiji had to march 40 miles a day.

ORDINANCE AGAINST IMMIGRANTS

News reached Gandhiji of draft ordinance published in Transvaal Government *Gazette Extraordinary* of August 22, against Indian immigrants.

FIRST SATYAGRAHA

Protest meeting on September 11 at Empire Theatre, Johannesburg. Attended by Indian delegates from all Transvaal. Most important was famous Fourth Resolution. Indians solemnly determined never to submit to new ordinance but to suffer all penalties, if it became law. Business conducted in Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil and Telugu. Pledge of passive resistance taken at every centre in Transvaal.

DECISION TO SEND DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

Indian community decided to send deputation to England to present case to Colonial Secretary. Gandhiji and H. O. Ali elected representatives. Memorial drafted on way to England.

MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMONS ADDRESSED

... Gandhiji reached London on October 20 and,

left for South Africa in December. Dadabhai Naoroji helped Gandhiji in agitation. Before Gandhiji left, he addressed meeting of about 100 members of the Commons explaining plight of Indians in South Africa. During stay, committee formed to watch interests of Indian immigrants.

Gandhiji's mission only delayed evil day.

" BLACK ACT "

1907 (Age 38) . "Black Act " proclaimed to take effect from July 1. Indians called upon to apply for registration before July 31. 'Passive Resistance' movement took practical form. Resident Chinese, about 1,000 joined Indians because law applied to them also. Asiatics thrown into prison by thousands and as jails not large enough some kept in minepits.

INDIANS DECIDE TO PICKET

July in Transvaal saw opening of permit offices for issue of registration certificates. Indian community decided to picket. On July 31, mass meeting of Indians held in open air in Pretoria mosque. September 18, Gokhale's telegram of encouragement.

GANDHIJI ASKED TO LEAVE WITHIN 24 HOURS

Government extended last day of registration to November 30 but only 511 persons out of 13,000 complied. Consequently, Gandhiji and 24 others

including Quinn, leader of Chinese, were notified to appear before magistrate on December 28. Gandhiji asked to leave Transvaal within 48 hours. In December Rév. J. J. Doke met Gandhiji for first time. Soon after Doke wrote excellent account, *M. K. Gandhi—An Indian Patriot in South Africa*.

TRANSVAAL IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL

In addition to Black Act, Smuts carried through Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Bill which prevented entry of single new Indian into Transvaal.

SENTENCED TO TWO MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT

1908 (Age 39): On January 10, Gandhiji with companions called upon to attend court for sentence. None offered defence, all pleaded guilty. Gandhiji in statement asked magistrate to impose on him heaviest penalty. Sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment. Hundreds of Indians as well as brother members of the Bar present in court. Gandhiji at once removed into custody and driven to Johannesburg Jail. First jail experience.

INDIAN COMMUNITY'S RESOLUTION

Community resolved to fill up jails. Indian hawkers took lead. They refused to show licences, enough to ensure arrest. Number of *Satyagrahis* more than a hundred within a week. Soon rose to over 150.

MEETING WITH SMUTS

On January 30, Gandhiji summoned to see General Smuts at Pretoria. Proposed that prisoners should be released, and Black Act withdrawn if sufficient number of Indians registered voluntarily. Gandhiji went to Johannesburg and there held meeting of 1,000 people at mosque at midnight. Meeting unanimously ratified settlement with exception of few Pathans.

HIT ON HEAD, BUT ADVOCATED UNITY

On morning of February 10, Gandhiji and a few co-workers went to take certificates of registration. Pathans led by Mir Alam followed. Mir Alam hit Gandhiji on head who fell down. He was again beaten and kicked. Pathans arrested but Gandhiji who was taken to Doke's place where he regained consciousness refused to prosecute them stating : "Let the blood spilt today cement the two communities indissolubly.....The large majority of Asiatics ought to give finger prints" Gandhiji gave finger prints from sick-bed. During convalescence developed habit of falling asleep during work and waking after short time refreshed.

ULTIMATUM TO SMUTS AND GOVERNMENT

Gandhiji wrote letter to Smuts and another to Transvaal Government saying "If the Asiatic Act is not repealed in terms of the settlement, and if Government's decision to that effect is not communicated before a specific date, the certificates collected by the Indians will be burnt, and we shall humbly take the consequences."

Ultimatum to expire on same day that new Asiatic Bill was to be passed by Legislature. Gandhiji received 20,000 certificates to be burnt. These were thrown into cauldron containing solution with paraffin and set ablaze in grounds of Hamidia Mosque, Johannesburg, on August, 16.

SENTENCED AGAIN

Gandhiji arrested and sentenced on October, 15, for not being able, on his return from Natal, to show his certificate, which he had burned. Refused thumb impression. Sentenced to two months' rigorous imprisonment. To separate him from other *Satyagrahis*, Gandhiji taken to Pretoria Jail and confined in solitary cell reserved for dangerous criminals. Marched under guard through streets, dressed in convict clothes, carrying his bundle. Released on December 13.

INDIANS RESOLVE TO SEND DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

Meanwhile Boers and British anxious to effect union of the four colonies in Africa. Indians sensed that their status would worsen and resolved to send deputation to England.

LEFT FOR ENGLAND WITH HAJI HABIB

1909 (Age 40) : Gandhiji and Haji Habib left for England on deputation on June 23. Smuts and others already there to present case for unification.

Union Bill passed. Gandhiji left England on

November 13. During stay had opportunity to watch women's suffrage movement and came in contact with prominent leaders.

LETTER TO TOLSTOY AND HIS REPLY

Gandhiji wrote to Tolstoy the first time. Tolstoy replied : "...received your most interesting letter...God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal!"

On return journey Gandhiji wrote *Hind Swaraj*.

TATAS' AND KALLENBACHS' GIFTS

1910 (Age 41) : On return to Capetown, Gandhiji received cable that Ratanji J. Tata had given Rs. 25,000 to *satyagraha* funds. Arranged that all *satyagrahis* and families should live together. Kallenbach, German architect and close friend of Gandhiji, gave use of farm of 1,100 acres, called Tolstoy Farm, 21 miles from Johannesburg, free of charge. Houses built in two separate blocks for men and women. Everything from cooking to scavenging done by members. Different communities from different parts of India settled. Members vegetarian by consent, drink and smoking totally prohibited. Handicrafts kept inmates busy. Gandhiji learnt making sandals.

GANDHIJI ASSUMES THE ROLE OF TEACHER

Children taught by Gandhiji. All-round religious training received by all. As principal part of teaching Gandhiji told or read interesting

stories. Teaching experiment not fruitless. They learnt how to live together, lessons of mutual service, courtesy and industry. Gandhiji never punished boys. Once angry, he gave a blow on boy's arm with a ruler. Always repented that violence. Remembers only one occasion when he physically punished one of his sons.

Stray *satyagrahis* now and then went to jail. In April Gandhiji again wrote to Tolstoy and sent him *Hind Swaraj*. Signed himself Tolstoy's "humble follower" and asked Tolstoy to give opinion on book.

GOKHALE IN CAPETOWN.

1912 (Age 43) : Gokhale landed at Capetown on October 22 as mediator between *satyagrahis* and Government. After seeing General Botha, he said Black Act and £3 tax would be abolished next year. Received enthusiastically everywhere. Lived a few days on Tolstoy Farm. Gandhiji requested Gokhale to speak Marathi before Indians in Johannesburg and translated for non-Marathas. Gokhale left South Africa on November 17.

GANDHIJI GIVES UP MILK !

Reading about inhuman treatment accorded to cows gave up milk and restricted himself to diet of fresh and dried fruit. *Guide to Health and Niti Dharma*—*निति धर्म* *Ethical Religion* by Gandhiji published.

SATYAGRAHA RESUMED

1913 (Age 44) : Inhabitants of Tolstoy Farm preparing to renew *Satyagraha*. struggle. Abolition

of £3 tax as objective. Undertaking given to Gokhale cleared way for *Satyagrahis*. When struggle resumed India rendered munificent help to *Satyagraha* funds. Andrews and Pearson went to South Africa from India. Indentured labourers participated in struggle. Gandhiji decided to close Tolstoy Farm. Phoenix became centre of activities.

FIRST PENITENTIAL FAST

Penitential fast for moral lapse of two inmates at settlement. Took only one meal a day for next four and a half months.

WOMEN PARTICIPATE IN SATYAGRAHA

While preparations made for struggle, fresh grievance afforded opportunity even to women for participation.

INDIANS' MARRIAGES NULIFIED

On March 14, Cape Supreme Court nulled all marriages not celebrated according to Christian rites or not registered by Registrar of Marriages. This affected status of Indian married women.

MITA KASTURBAI SENTENCED

Gandhiji invited Indian women to enter struggle and they gladly joined. Along with other women *Satyagrahis* Kasturbai sentenced. Valliamma, 16-years old girl, died of fever soon after release. Movement developed into mass *Satyagraha* involving labourers in mines. Gandhiji

asked miners to march to Transvaal border, distance of 36 miles to be covered in two days—October 28.

INTENTION OF CROSSING BORDER CONVEYED TO GOVERNMENT

Gandhiji wired to Government intention of crossing border. Government and employers used force and many labourers injured. Programme was to march at rate of 25 miles a day, until either the men were arrested or Tolstoy Farm reached. Next day—November 6—at 6-30 a.m., prayers were offered and non-violent army marched. Marching column composed of 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children. Gandhiji habitually addressed as *Bhai*. Clad only in shirt and trousers.

GANDHIJI ARRESTED, BUT BAIL GRANTED

On November 6, warrant issued for arrest of Gandhiji who quietly surrendered. Tried at Volksrust for breach of Immigration Act, but bail granted. Gandhiji rejoined march.

RE-ARRESTED AND AGAIN RELEASED ON BAIL

Re-arrested second time at Standerton on November 8, again released on bail.

ARRESTED A THIRD TIME

On November 9, arrested for third time in four days and sentenced on November 11 to nine months' rigorous imprisonment. Next day three

long trains drawn up and marchers called upon to enter them to be taken back and imprisoned in Natal.

STRIKER'S NUMBERS SWELL

Twenty thousand more labourers in Natal struck work, leading to repression and bloodshed.

GANDHIJI SENTENCED FOR THREE MONTHS

On November 13, Gandhiji taken to Volksrust for second trial and next day sentenced to three months' imprisonment along with Polak and Kallenbach.

RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY

Smuts released Gandhiji unconditionally on December 18, in expectation of compromise. From time of release till settlement, Gandhiji, as penance, took only one meal a day and put on indentured labourers' dress.

ADMIRATION EXPRESSED BY KARACHI CONGRESS

Karachi Congress voted its admiration "for heroic endeavours of Gandhiji and his followers in South Africa".

FIRST MEETING WITH ANDREWS

Andrews and Pearson deputed by Gokhale to negotiate but arrived after Gandhiji's arrest. Gandhiji's first meeting with Andrews. Negotiations not smooth, and Gandhiji fixed January 1,

1914, for renewing march. All-India indignation. Viceroy, Lord Harding, driven by public opinion, lodged protest against Government of South Africa.

FORTNIGHT'S FAST

1914 (Age 45) : Fourteen days' fast for moral lapse of inmates of settlement.

Harbatsingh, brave 75-year-old *Satyagrahi*, died in jail on January 5.

SATYAGRAHA SUSPENDED

Following number of interviews between Smuts, Andrews and Gandhiji, provisional agreement arrived at and *Satyagraha* suspended for last time on January 21.

INDIAN RELIEF BILL PASSED

Indian Relief Bill published abolishing £3 tax, legalizing in South Africa all marriages deemed legal in India, and making a domicile certificate bearing holder's thumb-print sufficient evidence of right to enter Union.

SMUTS GLAD TO DO AWAY WITH THE MEASURE

Smuts, who in 1909 had said he would never erase that measure, confessed in 1914 that he was glad to do away with it.

Thus great *Satyagraha* struggle closed triumphantly.

LEAVES FOR ENGLAND TO MEET GOKHALE

On July 18, Gandhiji sailed for England to meet Gokhale, accompanied by Kasturbai and Kallenbach.

OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WAR

War declared on August 4. Gandhiji reached London on August 6. Gokhale stranded in Paris.

GANDHIJI ADVISES INDIANS TO PARTICIPATE IN WAR

In consultation with Dr. Jivraj Mehta and others studying in England, Gandhiji held meeting of Indian residents and advised them to participate in War. Lord Crewe accepted offer after hesitation. With about 80 volunteers Gandhiji took six weeks' course in first-aid and passed examination. Kasturbai joined.

SAROJINI NAIDU FIRST MEETS GANDHIJI.

Sarojini Naidu, then in London, participated in war work, came to know Gandhiji first time.

ATTACKED WITH PLEURISY

In December, owing to serious attack of pleurisy. Gandhiji obliged to return to India.

RETURNED TO INDIA

1915 (Age 46): Gandhiji returned to India in second week of January. Welcomed at Apollo Bander. Dressed in Kathiawadi cloak, turban and dhoti, all made of Indian mill cloth.



Country slowly recovering from effects of long-continued repression. Press Act and Seditious Meetings Act still in force. Many patriots in jail, though Lokamanya Tilak and Mrs Besant released.

K.-I.-H. GOLD MEDAL CONFERRED ON GANDHIJI

The moment Gandhiji reached Bombay, Gokhale sent word that Lord Willingdon, Governor, was desirous of seeing him. Governor, said: "I would like you to come and see me whenever you propose to take any steps concerning Government." Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal conferred on Gandhiji by Lord Hardinge in New Year Honours.

GANDHIJI WANTS TO FOUND AN ASHRAMA

Gandhiji went to Poona to see Gokhale and members of Servants of India Society. Gokhale wanted Gandhiji to join Society but members felt otherwise. Gandhiji wanted to settle down in Gujarat and found an *ashrama* to which Gokhale agreed. Gokhale had taken promise from Gandhiji that for a whole year after his arrival in India he would not undertake any political work but watch events.

TAGORE REFERS TO GANDHIJI AS MAHATMA.

In letter dated February 18, Tagore referred to Gandhiji as *Mahatma*. "I hope that *Mahatma* and Mrs. Gandhi have arrived in Bolpur."

AT SANTINIKETAN, HARDWAR AND HRISHIKESH

... On February 19, Gokhale died and Gandhiji, who was at Santiniketan, came to Poona. After attending funeral, left with Maganlal Gandhi to assist in sanitary arrangements at Hardwar for the *Kumbha* fair. Even at Hardwar Gandhiji's African struggle was known and people flocked to have his *darshan*. Here he decided to limit his diet, and pledged never, whilst in India, to take more than five items, and never to eat after dark. Proceeded to Gurukul to meet Swami Shradhanand—then Mahatma Munshiram. At Hrishikesh a *sanyasi* insisted that Gandhiji should wear sacred thread and *shikha* which he had given up before going to England. Gandhiji agreed to *shikha*, but declined sacred thread because countless Hindus have to go without it.

UNTOUCHABILITY CRITICIZED

In speech at Mayavaram on May 22, he touched on social reform in that centre of orthodoxy: "In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a number of people whom I would call 'untouchables.' If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself."

GANDHIJI ADVISED TO SETTLE DOWN IN AHMEDABAD

Many friends pressed Gandhiji to settle down

in Ahmedabad. Being a Gujarati he thought the should be able to render greater service through Gujarati language and could get monetary help from wealthy citizens. Ahmedabad was an ancient centre of handloom weaving and so, favourable field for revival of the cottage industry of hand-spinning.

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAMA FOUNDED

On May 25, *Satyagraha Ashram* founded with 25 inmates in rented bungalow, at Kochrab, a small village near Ahmedabad. Members took vows of truth, *ahimsa*; celibacy, control of the palate, non-thieving, non-possession, *swadeshi*, fearlessness, removal of untouchability, education through vernaculars and *khaddar*.

Congress session in Bombay in December. Gandhiji not elected to Subjects Committee. Nominated by Sir S. P. Sinha; President.

AT OPENING CEREMONY OF BANARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

1916 (Age 47): At opening ceremony of Banares Hindu University on February 4, Gandhiji said: "If I found it necessary for the salvation of India that the English should retire, that they should be driven out, I would not hesitate to declare that they would have to go, and I hope I would be prepared to die in defence of that belief."

NEHRU MEETS GANDHIJI

Gandhiji attended Lucknow Congress, Rajah of

Mahmudabad and Jinnah present. For first time, A tenant placed grievances of Bihar tenantry. Congress condemned extensive use of Defence of India Act and Bengal Regulation III of 1818. Jawaharlal Nehru's first meeting with Gandhiji.

"I am no socialist," Gandhiji said in one of his few references to the subject.

On November 5, Phirozeshah Mehta died.

INDENTURED EMIGRATION GOT ABOLISHED

1917 (Age 48): In February, Malaviya asked leave to introduce bill for immediate abolition of indenture system, but Lord Chelmsford refused.

Before starting agitation for abolition Gandhiji sought interview with Viceroy which was granted. No definite official promise given.

Gandhiji began tour from Bombay. Under auspices of Imperial Citizenship Association resolution passed specifying May 31 as latest date by which abolition should be announced.

Before May 31, Government announced that indentured emigration from India was stopped. Century-old evil terminated.

Gandhiji visited Karachi, Calcutta and other places. C.I.D. men shadowed him. Held several well-attended meetings.

MET RAJINDRA PRASAD FOR FIRST TIME

On April 10, Gandhiji reached Patna. Meet Rajendra Prasad for first time. Acquainted himself with hardships of Champaran agriculturists.

GANDHIJI DEFIES ORDER

Secretary of Planters' Association told Gandhiji plainly that as an outsider he had no business there. Commissioner advised him forthwith to leave Tirhut. Lawyers offered to work as his clerks. On April 15, Gandhiji started for Motihari on elephant's back. Served with notice "to leave by next available train." Gandhiji defied order. Received summons to stand trial next day. News spread. Thousands of villagers from distant places assembled near court. Congress practically unknown in those parts.

COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY APPOINTED

Lt.-Governor ordered case against Gandhiji to be withdrawn. He was allowed to conduct proposed enquiry. Toured interior of district and saw tenants, planters and officials. Invited for interview by Lt.-Governor on June 4. Interview extended over three days resulting in appointment of committee of enquiry with Gandhiji on it.

ASHRAM SHIFTED TO SABARMATI

On June 16, Gandhiji left for short visit to his ashram. Outbreak of plague compelled him to quit Kochrab. Chose new site of 20 acres on Sabarmati river, in vicinity of Central Jail. Within a week

40 persons joined *ashram*, living under canvas.

Dadabhai Naoroji's death on June 30

MONTAGUE REFORMS SCHEME

In August, Montague Reforms Scheme announced. - Gujarat Sabha under Gandhiji organized monster petition in support of Congress-League scheme. Lead followed throughout country.

CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN ACT

On September 25, Gandhiji wrote strong letter to the Press depicting conditions in Champaran. Committee signed unanimous report on October 3. Government translated recommendations in November into Champaran Agrarian Bill, passed into law early in March, 1918.

KHEDA AND AHMEDABAD SEEK HELP

At Champaran Gandhiji received calls for help from Kheda and Ahmedabad. At Kheda crops had failed and peasants were unable to pay land revenue. At Ahmedabad mill labour ill paid and overworked.

PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE

In November Gandhiji presided over first Gujarat Political Conference. He said : " I cannot forget that India is not Europe, India is not Japan, India is not China.....I feel that India's mission is different from that of the others."

PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE

In Congress Week at Calcutta in December, he presided over first session of Social Service League.

GANDHIJI WATCHES MILLHANDS' INTERESTS

1918 (Age 49) : Ever since return home Gandhiji watched interests of Ahmedabad millhands. At close of 1917 and beginning of 1918 relations between labour and millowners very strained.

THREE-DAY FAST

Gandhiji with Shankerlal Banker and V. J. Patel, representatives of weavers, and Ambalal Sarabhai representing millowners, appointed to arbitrate. Before committee could commence work, millowners declared general lock-out on February 22. Gandhiji's efforts for arbitration failed. Advised labourers on February 26 to strike work. In third week strike weakened. Gandhiji felt responsible for weakness of strikers and declared : " Unless the strikers rally and continue the strike till a settlement is reached or till they leave the mill altogether I will not touch any food." Anasuyaben, Ambalal's sister, was with Gandhiji. Strike called off after Gandhiji fasted for three days. Settlement reached after 21 days' strike.

SATYAGRAHA AND ITS SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION

Soon after, Gandhiji had to plunge into Kheda Satyagraha struggle. Conditions approaching

famine in Kheda district owing to failure of crops. Gujarat Sabha, of which Gandhiji was president, sent petitions and telegrams to Government. Government apathetic. After consulting co-workers Vallabhbhai Patel, Shankerlal Banker, Anasuyaben, Indulal Yagnik, Mahadev Desai and others Gandhiji advised *patidars* to resort to *Satyagraha*.

Set up headquarters at Nadiad *Analthashram*. *Satyagrahis* on March 22, took solemn pledge: "We shall rather let our lands be forfeited, than by voluntary payment we should allow our case to be considered false or should compromise our self-respect." Government began coercion, attached people's cattle and standing crops, seized movables.

Campaign ultimately successful. Well-to-do paid up, while poorer people were granted remission. Through Kheda campaign *Satyagraha* took firm root in Gujarat.

WAR CONFERENCE IN DELHI

In April, Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, invited Gandhiji to War Conference at Delhi. Ali Brothers in jail, Tilak and Mrs. Besant not invited. Gandhiji, therefore, declined invitation. Applied for permission to visit Ali Brothers but not allowed. At Muslim League session at Calcutta Gandhiji urged on Muslims to secure Ali Brothers' release. Later addressed Muslim College, Aligarh, and invited young men to be *fakirs* in service of motherland.

GANDHIJI SECONDS RESOLUTION ON RECRUITING

Viceroy succeeded in persuading Gandhiji to attend War Conference. Gandhiji seconded resolution on recruiting, in one-sentence speech in Hindustani : " With a full sense of responsibility, I beg to support the resolution."—the first instance of Hindustani being spoken at a meeting presided over by Viceroy. India contributed 985,000 men and made tremendous sacrifices.

GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY

After conference, Gandhiji sent letter to Viceroy through Mr. Ireland of Cambridge Mission, saying it was grave blunder not to have invited Tilak, Mrs. Besant and Ali Brothers to conference. Explaining people's minimum political demand Gandhiji said : " Even a performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right. People are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the main general principles of the Congress-League Scheme. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment, and I know that India, by the very act, would become the most favoured partner in the Empire, and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past."

RECRUITING CAMPAIGN

Returning from Delhi, Gandhiji started recruiting campaign in Kheda, but estrangement between people and Government had reached such

a pitch that he was refused even bullock transport and food. Officials not satisfied with him. He issued leaflets : "Among the many misdeeds of the British rule in India, history will look upon the act depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest. If we want to learn the use of arms, here is a golden opportunity."

HEALTH FAILS

Strenuous work of recruiting told heavily upon his frail body. For months he was confined to bed and seemed to be near death. Under pressure from doctor and Kasturbai began taking goat's milk, which he regarded as a violation of the spirit of the pledge not to take milk, though he then meant cow's and buffalo's milk. Learnt spinning during convalescence. Put discarded *charkha* in use.

As late as July 1918, he defined *Swaraj* as part and partnership in the British Empire.

ELECTED TO REPRESENT AT THE VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE

Elected in his absence, by the Delhi session of the Congress, December, as one of its three representatives at the Versailles Peace Conference. But had no ambition in these directions.

UNDERGOES MEDICAL OPERATION

1919 (Age 50) : Dr. Dalal performed on Gandhiji successful operation for fissures.

ROWLATT BILL

Hardly on way to recovery, when Gandhiji read in papers Rowlatt Committee's report, just published. Until 1919, Gandhiji did not participate actively in Indian nationalist movement. After talks with Vallabhbhai Patel, Gandhiji decided to call a small meeting consisting of Sarojini Naidu, Horniman. Umar Sobani, Shankerlal Banker, Anasuyaben, etc., at the *ashram*. *Satyagraha* pledge drafted and signed by all present. Gandhiji was not editing any journal but occasionally ventilated views through daily papers. Separate body called *Satyagraha Sabha* established with Bombay as headquarters. Gandhiji became president.

Rowlatt Bill introduced in February.

ATTENDS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL FOR FIRST TIME.

Gandhiji attended proceedings of India's Legislative Council for first time in his life, on occasion of Rowlatt Bill debate.

"THE DAY OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER"

Rowlatt Bill became Act on March 18. Following day Gandhiji told Rajagopalachari: "The idea came to me last night in a dream, that we should call upon the country to observe a general *hartal*."

On March 23, Gandhiji issued brief appeal. Date of *hartal* originally fixed on April 1, changed

subsequently to April 2, and later to April 6, a day of "humiliation and prayer."

After short tour in South India, Gandhiji reached Bombay on April 4. Delhi had observed *hartal* on March 30 as news of postponement reached late. Swami Shraddhanand invited to deliver speech in Jumma Masjid. Police checked *hartal* procession and opened fire, causing casualties. Firing in Lahore and Amritsar. *Hartal* in Bombay complete success.

DECISION TO OFFER CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Full preparations for starting civil disobedience. It was decided that civil disobedience might be offered in respect of such laws only as easily lent themselves to disobedience by masses. Gandhiji suggested people might prepare salt from sea-water in their homes. Proscribed literature to be distributed and read. On evening of April 6, volunteers sold *Hind Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya*, Gujarati translation of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, which were proscribed. Copies soon sold out.

Muslim friends invited Gandhiji and Sarojini Naidu to deliver speeches in mosque.

ENTRY INTO PUNJAB BANNED

On night of April 7, Gandhiji started for Delhi and Amritsar. Mahadev Desai accompanied. Before train reached Palwal, Gandhiji served with notice prohibiting entry into Punjab. Asked to get down from train which he refused. Put under police custody. Made to enter third-class car-

riage. At Muttra taken to police barracks. Early next morning put in goods train going to Bombay. At noon made to get down at Savai Madhopur. Then put in first-class compartment and requested to return to Bombay and not cross frontiers of Punjab. He refused and was taken to Bombay on April 11.

CHOWPATI MEETING

News of Gandhiji's arrest incensed people. Pydhoni in Bombay scene of great excitement. Gandhiji hurried there to see procession dispersed by mounted police. Held meeting at Chowpati, sands and said: "A *Satyagrahi* is pledged to non-violence, and unless people observe it in thought and deed, I cannot offer mass *Satyagraha*."

PENITENTIAL FAST FOR THREE DAYS

Attempts made to pull off rails near Nadiad railway station. Ahmedabad under martial law. On April 13, Gandhiji held meeting at Sabarmati *Ashram* and declared penitential fast for three days and appealed to people to observe similar fast for a day. He suggested to those who had been guilty of violence to confess.

"HIMALAYAN MISCALCULATION"

Immediately after Gandhiji went to Nadiad. There he first used the expression "Himalayan miscalculation." Realized training in civil disobedience not going to be rapid. With these thoughts he reached Bombay. Raised a corps of *Satyagrahi* volunteers. With their help commencing

ed teaching significance of *Satyagraha*

RUTHLESS REPRESSION BY GOVERNMENT IN THE PUNJAB

Ruthless repression by Government. On April 10, in the Punjab, Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal spirited away. Crowd fired upon, it turned back into city. Five Englishmen killed.

JALLIANWALA BAGH TRAGEDY

Vaishakhi festival at hand, pilgrims had assembled. On April 13, a meeting was held in Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar. Night before General Dyer issued order forbidding public meetings but none had heard about it. General, however, came to Jallianwala Bagh with troops armed with guns. Without warning, opened fire for about ten minutes on defenceless mass of people. As ground was surrounded by high walls no one could escape. According to official figures about 400 were killed and between a thousand and two wounded.

MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED

Following massacre, martial law proclaimed. Reign of terror in Punjab. Water and electric supply of Amritsar cut off for civilians. Public flogging common and the infamous "Crawling Order" imposed.

STRICTEST CENSORING OF NEWS

Gandhiji suspended *Satyagraha* on April 8. General Dyer's action approved by Sir Michael

D'Dwyer Governor, in telegram, "Your action correct." Censoring of news so strict that A.I.C.C. learnt news of Amritsar massacre in detail only in July in Calcutta.

MARTIAL LAW CONTINUES

Lord Chelmsford published Resolution dated April 14, to employ all available forces to put speedy end to disturbances. Martial law enforced till June 11.

GANDHIJI CANNOT VISIT PUNJAB

Gandhiji impatient to go to Punjab but did not want to break law as atmosphere in country was tense and Viceroy would say "not yet" every time.

Hunter Committee appointed to inquire into Punjab Martial law regime. Viceroy wired Gandhiji that he could visit Punjab after October 17.

GANDHIJI FIRST COMES IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH PANDIT MOTI LAL NEHRU

Owing to principal Punjab leaders being in jail, their place taken up by Malaviya, Motilal Nehru and Swami Shraddhanand. Here, for first time, Gandhiji came in close contact with Motilal Nehru. They unanimously decided not to lead evidence before Hunter Committee.

NON-OFFICIAL COMMITTEE SET UP AND REPORT PREPARED

Non-official enquiry committee appointed by

Tilk also present.

Gandhiji led deputation to Viceroy on January 19.

HUNTER COMMITTEE REPORT.—GANDHIJI BECOMES A NON-CO-OPERATOR.

In May, Hunter Committee report published. Gandhiji profoundly shocked. From a staunch co-operator became a non-co-operator.

Peace conditions imposed on Turkey announced along with Viceregal message on May 14, admitting that they were disappointing but advising Muslims to accept the inevitable.

On May 28, *Khilafat* sub-committee consisting of Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali Abul Kalam Azad adopted non-co-operation. Ratified on June 30 by Muslim Conference at Allahabad.

“THE MOST FOOLISH OF ALL FOOLISH SCHEMES” !

Gandhiji's open letter to Viceroy:

“I have advised my Muslim friends to withdraw their support from your Excellency's Government, and advised the Hindus to join them.” Viceroy characterized non-co-operation as “the most foolish of all foolish schemes.”

Gandhiji announced non-co-operation would be preceded by fasting and prayer on July 31.

“STRONGEST BULWARK GONE!”

Every thing ripe for non-co-operation. Tilak promised to abide by A. I. C. C. decision, but passed away on night of July 31. Gandhiji exclaimed: “My strongest bulwark is gone”!

MEDAL SURRENDERED

On August 1, Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy surrendering Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal and Boer War Medal. Rabindranath Tagore returned knighthood.

Special Congress session in Calcutta, September 4—9. On Motilal's request Gandhiji inculced *Swaraj* demand in resolution. Motilal first to join movement. Besant, Malaviya, Das present. Non-co-operative resolution passed after protracted discussion.

Pyarelal joined Gandhiji in October.

In November, Gandhiji founded National University of Gujarat.

NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY CONFIRMED

Nagpur Congress, December 26, unanimously confirmed non-co-operation resolution with slight changes at instance of Lajpat Rai and Das. Resolution moved by Das and seconded by Lajpat Rai. C. Vijayaraghavachariar presided.

GANDHIJI AND CONGRESS THE SAME !

From this time onwards Gandhiji and Congress became synonymous terms.

Congress with C. R. Das as member. Responsibility for organizing committee work devolved on Gandhiji and he conducted extensive enquiry in many Punjab villages. Committee worked for over three months, examined nearly 2,000 witnesses and towards end of February 1920, prepared report. Not a single statement in report ever challenged.

KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

On October 17, known as *Khilafat* Day, imposing demonstration. Inauguration of All-India *Khilafat* Conference on November '24. Gandhiji presided and delivered speech in Hindustani.

RELEASE OF ALI BROTHERS WHO JOIN CONGRESS

Ali Brothers released on December 25. Became Congressman at Amritsar Congress.

MOTI LAL NEHRU, PRESIDENT, AMRITSAR CONGRESS

Motilal Nehru presided at the Amritsar session of the Congress. Congress attended by 36,000 delegates.

GANDHIJI ADVISES ACCEPTANCE OF REFORMS.

King's announcement on Reforms. Gandhiji did not like it but advised acceptance of reforms. Das and Tilak for rejection. First and last time that Gandhiji and Tilak stood on same political platform.

On Reforms resolution Gandhiji arrived at suitable compromise with Tilak and Das. Resolution passed offering welcome to Prince of Wales. Jinnah, Malaviya and Bepin Chandra Pal endorsed it.

APPOINTMENT TO REMODEL CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

Congress appointed Gandhiji as one of the trustees of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund, for which he collected substantial sum. Appointed to remodel constitution in consultation with N. C. Kelkar. Old constitution was Gokhale's legacy.

About this appointment, Gandhiji writes: "I may be said to have made my real entrance into Congress politics."

While Tilak sought to concentrate nation's attention on council-entry, Gandhiji thinking out details of non-co-operation.

KHILAFAT DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

Khilafat agitation growing. In accordance with resolution at Delhi Conference, deputation headed by Mohammed Ali despatched to England with Gandhiji's blessings.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD FIRST MEETS GANDHIJI

1920 (Age 51): Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's first meeting with Gandhiji on January 18 in Delhi in connection with *Khilafat* delegation to Viceroy.

VOW

Took vow not to eat till daily quota of half hour's spinning was done.

TILAK SWARAJ FUND OVER-SUBSCRIBED !

1921 (Age 52): In January Jamna Lal Bajaj who shed his title of Rao Bahadur donated one lakh rupees to Tilak *Swaraj* Fund.

In May 12,000 workers struck in Assam Tea Gardens and were attacked by Gurkhas. Strikes by transport workers in Eastern Bengal. Gandhiji did utmost to calm situation. Long interview with Lord Reading, new Viceroy.

A. I. C. C. met in Bombay on July 28-30. Tilak *Swaraj* Fund over-subscribed by about 15 lakhs rupees. Number of *Charkhas* risen to 20 lakhs.

COMPLETE BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

Committee recommended complete boycott of foreign cloth and functions in connection with Prince of Wales' visit.

In August Gandhiji endorsed burning of foreign cloth. Huge bonfires all over country. Monster bonfire on August 1, in Bombay in Gandhiji's presence, commemorating anniversary of Tilak's death. Tagore and Andrews protested.

On October 16, Karachi Resolution signed by Gandhiji and prominent Congress leaders. Passed

from thousands of platforms throughout India.

Impetus to *Khadi*. Gandhiji gave up wearing shirt and cap and resolved to wear loin-cloth only. *Khadi* and *Charkha* most important items in Congress programme for attaining *Swaraj*.

FIVE DAYS' FAST

Prince of Wales arrived in India on November 17. On day of arrival, rioting and bloodshed lasting four days. In consequence Gandhiji fasted five days—November 19—23—pending restoration of Jawaharlal Nehru order.

Das arrested. Prince to visit Calcutta on December '25. Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru and Jawahar Lal Nehru in jail.

Negotiations opened between Congress and Government. Gandhiji and Das for release of all political prisoners. Gandhiji for right of picketing also. Negotiations failed. Jinnah and Malaviya intermediaries.

In last week of December, Ahmedabad Congress held. President-elect in jail and Hakim Ajmal Khan elected. Hindu Mahasabha session in Delhi also elected him President.

GANDHIJI APPOINTED SOLE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

Enthusiasm for mass civil disobedience. Over 32,000 resisters already in jail. Muslim divines

played prominent part in advising Congress on political matters. Gandhiji invested with sole executive authority on behalf of Congress with power to appoint successor, in case ordinary machinery broke down. But peace to be concluded only with leave of Congress. Gandhiji walked up to each delegate's camp explaining technique of civil disobedience.

30,000 SENTENCED

1922 (Age 53): During December 1921 and January 1922 about 30,000 persons sentenced. Guntur declared no-tax campaign on January 12.

On February 1, Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy, intimating intention to start civil disobedience in Bardoli under personal supervision, Government's prompt reply justifying repressive policy.

CHAURI CHAURA INCIDENT

On February 5 at Chauri Chaura, United Provinces, 21 constables and sub-inspector pushed by mob into police station and burnt to death.

MASS CIVIL OBEDIENCE SUSPENDED

Working Committee met at Bardoli on February 12. Suspended mass civil disobedience, Gandhiji imposing upon himself fast for five days.

A. I. C. C. at Delhi on February 24-25 endorsed Bardoli resolution, permitting individual civil disobedience.

Since November 10, 1920, Gandhiji expecting arrest. On March 9, he wrote: "Rivers of bloodshed by the Government cannot frighten me." Forbade *hartal* and demonstrations on his arrest and appealed to people to carry out constructive programme and stiffen civil disobedience.

GANDHIJI ARRESTED

On March 10, Gandhiji, along with Banker, arrested on charge of sedition for three articles in *Young India*. "The Great Trial" began on March 18 at Ahmedabad. After charge was read Gandhiji pleaded guilty and made a statement. Prefaced it by saying he had begun preaching disaffection long before his connection with *Young India*. Took full responsibility for occurrences in Madras, Bombay and Chauri Chaura and said: "I know I was playing with fire... I would still do the same... The only course open to you, Mr Judge, is... either to resign your post or to inflict on me the severest penalty."

A PROUD PRIVILEGE, INDEED !

Judge Broomfield sentenced Gandhiji to six years' imprisonment: "You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, to be classed with Mr. Tilak."

Gandhiji stated he considered proud privilege to have his name associated with *Lokamanna* and thanked judge. Kasturba urged people to remain peaceful and concentrate on constructive programme.

MY EXPERIMENTS TRUTH WITH

The story of "*My Experiments with Truth*" was first dictated by Gandhiji in Gujrati to a fellow political prisoner during his imprisonment in 1922-24 and afterwards published in serial form in *Navajivan*. Translated into English by Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal Nayyar, receiving Gandhiji's careful revision. Miraben—Miss Slade—assisted in shaping final English form.

MESSAGE FROM JAIL

"Peace, non-violence, suffering" was the only message from jail.

KHILAFAT QUESTION ENDS UNEXPECTEDLY

By end of November 1922, Kemal Pasha took over civil administration in Turkey and the Sultan fled to Malta on British ship. Unexpected end of *Khilafat* question.

Congress session in December at Gaya proclaimed allegiance to Gandhiji and non-cooperation. By 1,740 votes to 890 it rejected participation in councils. First *Khadi* exhibition. British and Anglo-Indian Press, at close of session, expressed surprise and disappointment at progress of popular movement.

1923 (Age 54): Political atmosphere polluted by communal differences.

On May 1, Gandhiji wrote to jail superinten-

dent declining special concessions until other political prisoners were allowed them.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS REAFFIRMED

Cocanada Congress in December. Mohamed Ali presided. Congress gave call for constructive programme and preparation for intensive civil disobedience. Reaffirmed boycott of councils. Laid foundation of all-India volunteer organization—Hindustan Seva Dal.

SACRED EXPERIENCE

1924 (Age 55): Gandhiji's sudden illness with appendicitis on January 12 caused anxiety. Operated on by Colonel Maddock. The surgeon used electric torch, which fused half way through operation. Nurse held hurricane lantern till operation finished—"sacred experience." Gandhiji unconditionally released on February 5. Went to Juhu to recoup health.

SWEEPING VICTORY FOR SWARAJISTS

Das and Motilal giving new orientation to Congress policy. In general election of 1923, *Swarajists* swept polls.

FIRST LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

Gandhiji wrote to Romain Rolland on March 22, his first letter—a prelude to friendship.

EDITORSHIP OF *YOUNG INDIA* AND *NAVA-JIWANA* RESUMED

In first week of April, Gandhiji resumed

editorship of *Young India and Navajivan*. Jail diary and autobiography published serially.

Disturbances at Gulbarga, Nagpur, Lucknow, Shahajanpur, Allahabad, Jubbulpore and Kohat. Report on disturbances prepared by Gandhiji and Shaikat Ali.

21—DAY FAST

As result of Kohat happenings Gandhiji decided on 21 days' fast. He said: "I blame none, I blame myself alone". On September 18, started fast at Mohamed Ali's house. By September 26, leaders of all communities rushed to Delhi, held seven day conference and pledged themselves to do their utmost to ensure that Gandhiji's resolutions are carried out and all violators are strictly condemned.

At A.I.C.C. meeting on November 23-24 Gandhiji agreed with Das and Motilal on council entry.

BRIEFEST PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Gandhiji presided over Congress in December at Belgaum. Briefest address on record. Only summary delivered at open session. Insisted on *Khaddar* and boycott of foreign cloth. Council entry allowed by Congress.

DAS GIVES HIS ALL TO THE NATION

Jawaharlal Nehru elected working Secretary of Congress at Gandhiji's instance. On eve of Congress, Das divested himself of all property and left it as legacy to nation.

In November, Gandhiji spent three weeks in Ceylon collecting money for *Khadi* work.

On December 29, Hakim Ajmal Khan died.

SIMON COMMISSION

1928 (Age 59) : On February 3rd, Commission headed by Sir John Simon landed in Bombay. All political parties united in boycotting it. All-India *hartal* on day of arrival. Greeted everywhere with black flags and cries of "Go back, Simon!"

COERCION AND TERRORISM USED

On February 22, Irwin declared whether Indian assistance was forthcoming or not Simon Commission enquiry would proceed.

Successful boycott. Government use coercion and terrorism. Lajpat Rai aged 64, and Jawaharlal Nehru among those attacked with *lathis*. As result of blows Lajpat Rai died on November 17.

BARDOLI SATYAGRAHA

Famous Bardoli *Satyagraha* in Gujrat started on February 12, against increase in land revenue. Vallabhbhai Patel led it with Gandhiji's blessings. Bombay Government declared all resources of Empire would be used to crush no-tax campaign, but shortly after, settlement took place.

All-Parties Conference at Lucknow on August 28-30 to consider Nehru Committee Report.

WORTHY SON OF WORTHY FATHER !

Annual Congress session in Calcutta in December. As part author of All-Parties Report, Motilal Nehru, President, pleaded for 'Dominion Status. Jawaharlal Nehru supported by Subhas Bose carried the day with emphatic resolution in favour of independence, if Dominion Status not granted by end of 1929. Resolution moved by Gandhiji himself, as sort of compromise.

INDEPENDENCE DEMANDED!

Monster demonstration of 50,000 workers marching by National Flag hoisted in Congress grounds. They passed resolution for independence and saluted flag.

YOUTH AND SIMON COMMISSION BOYCOTT

Youth League organizations formed all over country playing important part in Simon Commission boycott.

"NO!" TO INVITATION TO EUROPE

1929 (Age 60) : Gandhiji invited to Europe. Intended European tour early in 1929. But in first week of February he said: "I have no voice from within prompting me to go. On the contrary, having put a constructive resolution before the Congress and having received universal support, I feel that I will be guilty of desertion if I now went away to Europe. Above all, I must prepare myself for the next year's struggle whatever shape it may take".

GANDHIJI TRIED AND FINED

Gandhiji touring India passed Calcutta on way to Burma. Charged in connection with bonfire of foreign cloth. Gandhiji proceeded to Burma and on return was tried and fined Re. 1/-.

LABOUR IN POWER IN ENGLAND

Simon Commission concluded labours in April. Hardly had they reached England when Conservative Government was defeated in general election in May giving way to Labour Government with Ramsay MacDonald as Premier.

GOAL OF BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA

Irwin's declaration on October 31, reiterating goal of British policy in India as progressive realisation of responsible Government within British Empire. Announced intention to hold Round Table Conference in London. Churchill started campaign describing Dominion Status for India as "Crime"!

NO DEFINITE PROMISE!

On December 23, attempt made to bomb Viceroy's train on way to Delhi. On very day Gandhiji with Motilal Nehru, Jinnah, Sapru and Vithalbhai Patel interviewd Viceroy. Gandhiji concentrated on question of Dominion Status. Viceroy said he was not in a position to extend

invitation to R.T.C. with " any definite promise of Dominion Status ".

SOLEMN FLAG SALUTATION

Congress met at Lahore with Jawaharlal Nehru as President in December. At Gandhiji's instance on December 31 at midnight, Congress declared idea of Dominion Status had lapsed and " *Swaraj* " in the Congress creed shall mean " Complete Independence." Immediately after, Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders with rank and file joined solemn flag salutation on first day of Indian Independence, 1930.

"SELF-DETERMINATION OUT OF QUESTION"

1930 (Age 61) : Viceroy in his speech to Legislature on January 25, made clear self-determination was out of question. In answer Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* : " H. E. Viceroy deserves thanks from every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere and let us know exactly where he and we stand."

INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE

On January 26, pledge of Independence taken all over country, and anniversary of that is celebrated annually as Independence Day (till 1947).

February 27—Princely Gift of " Anand Bhawan " by Motilal Nehru.

GANDHIJI'S LETTER

On March, 22, Gandhiji sent " ultimatum " to

Irwin, beginning : " Dear Friend...Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take these years, I would fain approach you and find the way out ".

Letter taken to Delhi by Reginald Reynolds.

LORD IRWIN'S REPLY

Irwin in reply merely regretted " to hear that Mr. Gandhi intended to contravene the law ".

GANDHIJI'S REJOINDER

" On bended knees ", Gandhiji wrote, " I asked for bread and received a stone instead. "

Vallabhbhai arrested in first week of March at Ras.

On March 12, Gandhiji set out on his historic march to Dandi to break salt law, with 79 volunteers, inmates of the *Ashram* at 6.30 A.M., with determination not to return to *Ashram* " until I succeed in getting the salt law repealed ". " Either I shall return with what I want or else my body float on the ocean ". No women were taken will " out of consideration for the Government ".

After 200-mile march, on morning of April 5, party reached village of Dandi on sea-coast where Gandhiji prepared to break salt law.

CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S DECISION

A.I.C.C. met at Allahabad on March 21. Decided to start civil disobedience on arrest of

Gandhiji, or if he so directs, before his arrest by April 6.

GANDHIJI'S DIRECTIONS

Gandhiji's prayer meeting on morning of April 6 marked by a solemn speech. He directed that if he was arrested Congress should take orders from Abbas Tayyabjee and after that from Sarojini Naidu.

FILM OF DANDI MARCH BANNED

Country ablaze from end to end. Monster public meetings in all big cities, audiences running into lakhs.

On April 14, Jawahar Lal Nehru arrested. In Peshawar, Military opened fire causing many deaths. Firing in Madras. Bengal Ordinance renewed on April 23. Karachi, Shiroda, Ratnagiri, Patna, Calcutta and Sholapur in news.

GANDHIJI ARRESTED

Gandhiji drafted second letter to Viceroy and announced intention of raiding salt depots at Dharasna and Chharsada. He argued that natural salt, like air and water, was public property. Arrested under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, meant to deal with enemies of British.

District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police and about 20 armed policemen reached Karachi at 12-45 a.m. They proceeded to cot where Gandhi was fast asleep. Directing

flashlight on him, they woke him up and surrounded cot. Gandhiji dictated message to people expressing satisfaction at way Gujarat had responded to his call. Placed in lorry and removed to Yeravda prison.

Working Committee met at Allahabad in May and expanded scope of civil disobedience.

DHARASANA SALT DEPOT RAIDED

Salt *Satyagraha* continued. Under lead of 63-year-old Imam Saheb, Gandhiji's old colleague in South Africa, 2,500 raided Dharasna Salt Depot. Police made several *lathi*-charges, resulting in one killed and 290 wounded.

MORE THAN 100,000 CONVICTED

Government took drastic action. Before year was out no less than twelve ordinances promulgated by Viceroy. Total figure of convictions exceeded 100,000 of whom 12,000 were Muslims.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

R.T.C. met on November 12, without Congress representation.

No Congress session in December 'as all leaders in jail.

1931 (Age 62) : Mohamed Ali's death in England on January 4.

First R.T.C. concluded on January 13, after Premier's declaration defining British policy in India and message from the King saying that they had opened " new chapter in history of India...steps

would be taken to enlist the services of Congressmen."

GANDHIJI RELEASED

Irwin's declaration on January 25, announcing release of Gandhiji and members of Working Committee unconditionally. On following day Gandhiji and about 30 leaders released and notifications against Congress organizations withdrawn.

Released leaders hurried to Allahabad where Motilal was seriously ill. Taken to Lucknow for treatment where he died on February 6.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

On March 4, Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed. Boycott was to cease, but propaganda for *swadeshi* to be allowed. Peaceful picketing permitted. All organized defiance of laws to cease. All ordinances to be withdrawn. General amnesty. People on sea coast conceded right of picking up, manufacturing and selling salt. Congress representation on R.T.C. open to future discussion.

Gandhiji interviewed Viceroy on March 19, and discussed release of political prisoners.

BHAGAT SINGH EXECUTED

Date of Bhagat Singh's execution kept secret, as authorities expected "trouble." European women warned to keep at least for ten days within European quarters. On night of March 23-24 Bhagat Singh executed.

Gandhiji's position at Karachi Congress most difficult. On arrival at Karachi, young revolutionaries greeted him with black flags and presented him black flowers in token of sorrow.

"GANDHISM WILL LIVE FOR EVER!"

On March 25, in public meeting Gandhiji said, "Gandhi may die but Gandhism will live for ever."

On April 18, Irwin left India and Gandhiji bade him good-bye in Bombay. Lord Willingdon assumed Viceroyalty. Gandhiji saw new Viceroy at Simla.

SOLE CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVE

Working Committee met on June 10, appointed Gandhiji as sole representative of Congress on R. T. C.

On July 11, Gandhiji wired Willingdon on non-observance of truce terms and received assurance.

DEPARTURE TO LONDON

As time for Gandhiji's departure for England drew near, situation in the country became serious on account of violation of peace terms by provincial Governments. Gandhiji, Sarojini Naidu and Malaviya cancelled passages to London booked for August 15. Gandhiji sent telegram to Viceroy on August 11. Willingdon hurried back to Simla cutting short visit to Calcutta. Gandhiji with

Patel and Nehru proceeded there. After prolonged negotiation fresh agreement signed by Willingdon and Gandhiji on August 27, reserving right of Congress to adopt defensive direct action. Inquiry over Bardoli dispute conceded.

IN LONDON

On September 12, Gandhiji reached London. Stayed in East End with Miss Muriel Lester at Kingsley Hall. Welcomed by Mayor of Poplar. Hundreds of poor men, women and children surrounded place merely to have look at him. His portrait appeared on front pages of dailies.

OPPOSED TO SEPARATE ELECTION FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES

Gandhiji declared in Minorities' Committee on November 13 he would resist separate elections for Depressed Classes with life.

Conference concluded on December 1. Gandhiji proposed vote of thanks to chair. "I do not know in what direction my path will lie, but it does not matter to me. Even though I may have to go in an exactly opposite direction, you are still entitled to a vote of thanks from the bottom of my heart."

Left England on December 5.

A DAY IN PARIS

That evening, seated on table, in the biggest cinema in Paris, Gandhiji spoke to citizens of

French capital. After a day in Paris left for Switzerland. Visited Romain Rolland on December 6 at his residence at Villeneuve. Stayed for five days.

At Rome Gandhiji met Mussolini on December 12. Could not see the Pope, but visited Vatican Museum and Library.

Gandhiji and party left Brindisi on December 14 and landed at Bombay in morning of December 28.

On December 29, Gandhiji wired to Viceroy requesting interview. Viceroy declined to discuss political situation.

At midnight on December 31, Working Committee authorized Gandhiji to renew *Satyagraha*.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE RESUMED

1932 (Age 63): Correspondence between Gandhiji and Viceroy for six days. Gandhiji's last telegram on January 3. Working Committee called upon nation to resume civil disobedience under strict rules and invited "the free peoples of the world and their Governments to watch and study the progress of the movement."

GANDHIJI ARRESTED

Government offensive started on January 4. Congress organizations banned, numerous Congressmen arrested. Gandhiji arrested at 3 a. m. on January 4 in Bombay under Regulation XXV of 1827 and detained at Yeravda Central Jail.

COMMUNAL AWARD

On August 17 MacDonald's Communal Award was announced.

On August 18, Gandhiji decided to fast and conveyed decision to Premier that fast would begin on noon of September 20. Premier replied on September 8 imputing to Gandhiji inimical intention in respect of Depressed Classes.

Gandhiji's declaration of "a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind, save water with or without salt and soda," from noon of September 20.

For five days, September 19-24, leaders of all communities in consultation among themselves and with Gandhiji.

Temples, wells and other public places thrown open everyday to untouchables henceforth called Harijans—God's own people.

On September 23 Gandhiji's condition took turn for worse. Shaukat Ali's demand for Gandhiji's release.

On September 24 Yeravda Pact signed in Gandhiji's presence by leaders of Harijans and Hindu and Congress leaders. Communicated to authorities. Dr. Ambedkar, M. C. Rajah, Malaviya, Rajagopalachari and Thakkar Bapa participated. Depressed classes to forego separate electorates, subject to important safeguards which caste Hindus were to concede.

FAST BROKEN

On morning of September 26, Gandhiji entered danger zone. At 4-15 p.m. he was handed a Government *communique*, which satisfied him. Fast broken at 5-15 p.m. amidst prayers and rejoicings.

Gandhiji's first statement announcing possibility of another fast over Guruvayur temple-entry question.

SYMPATHETIC FAST

On December 22 Gandhiji undertook sympathetic fast with Appasaheb Patwardhan who asked for scavenger's work in jail and was refused by authorities. Within two days assurance given and fast broken.

1933 (Age 64) : Gandhiji had announced to undertake fast on January 1 in sympathy with Kelappan for getting Guruvayur temple opened to Harijans. Fast averted as result of referendum in which people voted overwhelmingly for temple-entry.

HIRIJAN SEVAK SANGH

Harijan Sevak Sangh organized in February and *Harijan* started as a weekly.

Calcutta session of Congress in March held under ban.

21-DAY PURIFICATORY FAST

Gandhiji started on May 8 self-purificatory

fast for 21 days. It was "a heart prayer for purification of myself and my associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause." Government released Gandhiji on same day.

To hold a conference of workers to discuss situation with Gandhiji, suspension of civil disobedience extended for six weeks further.

Gandhiji concluded fast on May 29 at "Parnakuti" in Poona.

Informal conference of Congressmen at Poona, July 12. Conference authorized Gandhiji to seek interview with Viceroy. Telegram to Viceroy on July 15. Interview declined. Mass civil disobedience suspended and individual civil disobedience allowed.

INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA

Gandhiji inaugurated campaign of individual civil disobedience disbanding Sabarmati *Ashram* on July 26 as gesture of sympathy with those who lost property in movement.

Gandhiji refused facilities granted before release in May. Commenced fast on August 16. Condition worsened rapidly. On August 20 removed to Sassoon Hospital, still a prisoner. By August 23 condition precarious and, therefore, released unconditionally.

On September 20, Dr. Besant died.

On September 22, Vithalbhai Patel died.

LEAVES FOR BIHAR

1934 (Age 65): Earthquake shock, which did terrible damage in North Bihar and destroyed thousands of lives in less than three minutes, occurred at 2.15 p.m. on January 15. Terrestrial disturbances covered more than 15,000 square miles.

Gandhiji's first instinct was to abandon everything else and rush to help of distressed, but felt *Harijans* his first concern. On receiving letter from Rajendra Prasad, immediately he set out for Bihar on night of March 11.

Gandhiji suspended civil disobedience movement on April 7. Most political prisoners released.

FIRST ATTEMPT ON HIS LIFE

Harijan campaign not always smooth sailing. In Poona on June 25 an unknown and yet untraced person attempted to throw bomb at Gandhiji during public function when Poona Municipality presented him address. Unsuccessful assassin mistook car for Gandhiji's which arrived later. Seven injured.

About fortnight later irate reformer attacked determined opponent of *Harijan* movement with *lathi*. This led to seven day's fast by Gandhiji in July as penance for intolerance shown by opponents towards one another.

Bombay Congress session held on October 24. Rajendra Parsad presided.

GANDHIJI'S EXIT FROM CONGRESS

Outstanding event of Bombay session was Gandhiji's exit from Congress. Amendment—"truthful and non-violent" for "peaceful and legitimate" means—thrown out by A.-I.C.C. Gandhiji saw unpreparedness of Congress for truth and non-violence. Ceased to be even four-anna member.

1935 (Age 66) : Gandhiji attended A.-I.V.I.A. meeting at Wardha on February 1-4.

In April, Gandhiji presided over Hindi Literary Conference at Indore.

On August 4 Government of India Act received Royal assent. Rejected outright by Working Committee

SEGAON ASHRAM

Foundation of little hut at Segaon near Wardha laid on October 22. Miraben had gone to stay there on October 16.

1936 (Age 67) : Japanese poet, Yone Noguchi, visited Gandhiji at Segaon in first week of January. Few weeks later Dr. Tomika Kora visited Gandhiji to invite him to Japan.

On March, 22, Gandhiji opened exhibition of *khadi* and village industries at Lucknow, organized by A.-I.S.A. and A.-I.V.I.A.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR VILLAGE WORKERS OPEND

At end of April presided over All-India Literacy Conference at Nagpur.

In third week of May Gandhiji opened training school for village workers at Maganwadi.

Congress issued election manifesto in August.

In October Gandhiji presided over National Education Conference.

In last week of December, *khadi* and village industries exhibition held during Congress session at Faizpur, Nandlal Bose in charge of decoration.

1937 (Age 69) : In January Gandhiji visited Travancore for anti-untouchability work.

CONGRESS VICTORY AT ELECTIONS

February elections resulted in substantial victory for Congress. Control over eight out of India's eleven provinces.

Congress took office in a number of provinces in July. This released mass energy, and *kisans* and workers began to play more active role.

PROHIBITION PLEA

Gandhiji suggested as urgent reforms prohibition, relief to peasantry, basic education and turning of jails into reformatories.

Prohibition experiment started in Salem in Madras province on October 1.

THEORY OF BASIC EDUCATION PUT FORWARD

Educational Conference at Wardha on October 22-23. Gandhiji presided. Put forward his theory of Basic Education before distinguished members.

In December moved from Segaon to Juhu for reasons of health.

PROBLEMS OF ANDAMAN PRISONERS AND BENGAL DETENUS TAKEN UP

1938 (Age 69): After month's stay at Juhu, Gandhiji returned to Segaon on January 8. Still suffering from blood pressure but took up problem of Andamans prisoners and Bengal detenues. Not permitted by doctors to attend to correspondence or to write for *Harijan*.

Haripura session of Congress held in February. Subhas Bose presided. Ministerial crisis in the U. P. and Bihar considered. Gandhiji condemned Governors' interference regarding release of Political prisoners.

In April Gandhiji sent Mahadev Desai to meet Khan brothers and study conditions in the Frontier.

IN PESHAWAR

In Second week of May, Gandhiji along with Khan Sahib toured Peshawar District. Heartily

welcomed by Pathans in villages. Stressed non-violence.

1939 (Age 70): On January 4, Shaukat Ali died. Gandhiji was moved and shed tears. *Sarkar* was the endearing appellation Shaukat Ali had given Gandhiji.

RAJKOT INCIDENT

On February 4, Gandhiji wrote a leading article on Rajkot. "This wanton breach, instigated by the British Resident in Rajkot, as the charter of the liberty of its people is a wrong which must be set right at the earliest possible moment." Kasturba entered Rajkot to court arrest.

On February 25, Vallabhbhai suspended civil disobedience in Rajkot according to Gandhiji's instructions. On February 27, Gandhiji reached Rajkot on mission of peace.

On March 2, Gandhiji wrote to Thakore of Rajkot, intimating his plan of fast unto death from March 3. Charged ruler with breaking solemn pact with people.

Fast began on March 3 at noon. Next day Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy pleading for intervention.

Viceroy suggested with ruler's assent arbitration by Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer. Fast broken on March 7.

TRIPURI SESSION OF CONGRESS

When Congress met at Tripuri in March,

atmosphere tense. Subhas ill. Resolution passed reiterating demand for national independence, and declaring support of Congress for movement amongst States people. Confidence in Gandhiji and members of Working committee who had resigned recorded.

A.-I. C. C. met at Calcutta in May. Subhas resigned. Rajendra Prasad elected President of Congress for 1939-40.

In May Gandhiji expressed regret for coercive conduct in Rajkot and apologized to Viceroy, ruler and other people concerned.

On May 21, Subhas formed "Forward Bloc."

On July 13. Gandhiji requested Subhas, to retrace steps in opposing prohibition campaign in Bombay. Toured Frontier for fortnight.

LETTER TO HITLER

In July addressed open letter to Hitler appealing to him to desist from plunging the world into war.

On August 1, total prohibition declared in Bombay by Congress Government.

Subhas disqualified for grave indiscipline in continuing to be the President of Bengal Provincial Committee for three years.

DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

Defence of India Bill, issued as an Ordinance, passed in Central Assembly on August 20.

WORLD WAR II BEGINS

Soon after declaration of war on September 3. Gandhiji invited by Viceroy to Simla.

On October 3, Viceroy had talks with Rajendra Prasad and Nehru. A.-I. C. C. session at Wardha, October 9-10, supported Working Committee's statement. Viceroy's statement on October 17. In effect he said: "At the end of the war His Majesty's Government will be very willing to enter into consultation."

TALKS FAIL

Working Committee met at Wardha on October 22-23 and stated: "Any resistance that may have to be offered must be purged of all violence" and asked Congress Ministers to tender resignation. On November 1, Gandhiji, Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah met Viceroy together at New Delhi. On November 5 Viceroy announced failure of talks.

CONGRESS MINISTERS RESIGN

By November 8, all Congress Ministers resigned. After half-hearted attempts to set up alternative ministries Section 93 of Government of India Act invoked and constitution suspended in "Congress" provinces.

1940 (Age 71): Gandhiji's interview with Viceroy on February 5. Gandhiji's comment was: "I see no prospect of a peaceful and honourable settlement."

On March 5, Segaon renamed Sewagram.

RAMGARH SESSION

Ramgarh Congress, March 19-20, declared: "Congressmen, and those under Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material." Gandhiji addressing Subjects Committee said: "Every Congress Committee should become a *Satyagraha* Committee."

On April 5, C. F. Andrews, Gandhiji's closest English friend, died in Calcutta.

Working committee met at Delhi on July 3-7. Non-violence weapon against foreign aggression repudiated. Demand for National Government. On eve of meeting Subhas arrested. Ghaffar Khan resigned from Working Committee because of his strict adherence to non-violence.

AUGUST 8 DECLARATION

Viceroy's declaration of August 8. Announced he was authorized to invite "a certain number of representative Indians...to join his Executive Council." Congress rejected Viceroy's invitation to join.

GANDHIJI REQUESTED TO GUIDE CONGRESS

Working Committee met at Wardha, Augus 18-23, and declared that "British Government's idea was to continue to hold India by the sword."

Pledged Congress to act unde Gandhiji's command and requested him to guide Congress.

Gandhiji visited Viceroy on September 27 at Simla. Gandhiji declared: "The immediate issue is the right to exist, which broadly put, means Free speech. If the Congress has to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith."

CAMPAIGN OF INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA

With approval of Working Committee, October 11-13, Gandhiji launched campaign of individual *Satyagraha*. Vinoba Bhave chosen as first *Satyagrahi*. He inaugurated movement of moral protest by delivering anti-war speech on October 17, before rural audience, seven miles from Wardha. Arrested at Deoli on October 21, tried at Wardha and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. *Satyagrahis*' daily went out shouting anti-war slogans and courted arrest.

On evening of October 31, Jawaharlal Nehru arrested and sentenced to four year's imprisonment.

Maulana Azad arrested at Allahabad on December 30 and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

Gandhiji suspended *Satyagraha* from December 25, 1940 to January 4, 1941, as good-will gesture for Christmas.

MOVEMENT CONTINUES

1941 (Age 72): Throughout 1941 movement continued and slowly spread to remote corners of India. On January 5, lists of *Satyagrahis* prepared by local Congress committees. Several persons courted jail.

From December 8, Gandhiji lived for a month at Bardoli in Vallabhbhai's *ashram*.

GANDHIJI LEAVES CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli from December 23 to 30. Relieved Gandhiji, on his request, of Congress leadership because of fundamental difference over interpretation of non violence.

GANDHIJI CONSENTS TO GUIDE CONGRESS

1942 (Age 73): Working Committee met at Wardha on January 13-14. A.I.C.C. meeting on January 15-16, when Gandhiji consented to lead Congress on its own terms.

CRIPPS MISSION

Sir Stafford Cripps arrived at Karachi on Sunday; March 22. Reached Delhi on March 23 and began to interview party leaders on March 25.

On March 27, Gandhiji met Cripps in New Delhi and described proposals as "a post-dated cheque." On March 29, Cripps published proposals and said: "The Defence of India will not be in Indian hands even if all parties want it."

In *Harijan*, April 19, Gandhiji described British plan as on "the face of it too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere."

"QUIT INDIA" RESOLUTION

Working Committee met at Wardha on July

6. Gaddhiji present. "Quit India!" resolution passed and published on July 14—Gandhiji to lead and guide country in case of struggle.

August 8, A.-I.C.C. at Bombay passed "Quit India!" resolution.

GANDHIJI AND OTHERS ARRESTED

August 9, Government arrested Gandhiji, Working Committee members and hundreds of Congress leaders and workers, under Defence of India, Rules before daybreak. Gandhiji with some close associates taken by special train to Aga Khan Palace near Poona.

August 15: Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's secretary and closest intimate, died in Aga Khan palace.

1943 (Age 74): All-India Press *hartal* on January 6 as protest against Press restriction..

THREE WEEKS' FAST

February 10: At noon Gandhiji commenced three weeks' fast in detention in Aga Khan Palace. "I must resort to the law prescribed for *satyagrahis* namely a fast according to capacity. This fast can sooner end by the Government giving the needed relief."

March 3: Completion of fast.

June 18: Wavell appointed Viceroy. Amery announced in Commons on June 24: "The new appointment does not imply any change in the settled policy of His Majesty's Government."

MATA KASTURBAI DIED.

1944 (Age 75) : February 22, Kasturba, wife and life-companion of Gandhiji, died at 7-35 p.m. on Shivaratri in the Aga Khan Palace.

March 5 observed throughout country as Kasturba Day responding to appeal by Malaviya.

RELEASE FROM JAIL

Agitation all over country for Gandhiji's release.

May 6, New Delhi *communique* said: "In view of the medical reports of Mr. Gandhi's health, Government have decided to release him unconditionally. This decision has been taken solely on medical grounds. The release takes place at 3 a.m., May 6."

May 11, Gandhiji arrived in Bombay to stay at Gandhi Gram, Juhu.

May 14, Gandhiji entered on fortnight's silence to ensure uninterrupted rest.

June 15 : After over a month's stay in Juhu Gandhiji left for Poon a to stay in Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's clinic.

July 2, Gandhiji arrived in Panchgani for rest.

July 9, Formula for Congress-League settlement which Rajagopalachari had placed before Jinnah released. Rajagopalachari had discussed it with Gandhiji in March 1943.

GANDHI-JINNAH TALKS

July 29, League Council authorized Jinnah to negotiate with Gandhiji for settlement of communal problem, vesting in him full authority after hearing his statement.

July 31, Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence released to Press.

August 18, Gandhi-Wavell correspondence released by Government.

ON INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION

1945. Jan. 24: *Gandhiji in a letter to a Congress worker regarding Independence Day celebrations wrote: "I do not favour any extremist programme for January 26."* In a cable to Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon in London, he said: "Independence for India is essential for world peace as also for peace in India. It must come but it will come earlier if England and other Powers see the obvious."

March 20: In an interview in Bombay Gandhiji said that all talk of resolution of the deadlock was useless so long as members of the Congress Working Committee and other Congress members were in detention.

SIMLA CONFERENCE

June 14: Lord Wavell in a broadcast said: "I have been authorized to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India

towards her goal of full self-government." Party leaders invited to Simla conference.

June 15: In a statement on the Wavell Plan, Gandhiji said that the Congress Working Committee alone was competent to declare the Congress attitude to the new proposals. Working Committee members released from jail.

June 17: Gandhiji in a letter sought clarification of certain points in the Wavell Plan and wanted Lord Wavell to define his views on the meaning of the expression "Caste Hindus" in his statement.

June 18: Gandhiji met Lord Wavell and discussed with him proposals for an Interim Government at the Centre and the proposed Leaders' Conference at Simla on June 25.

June 24: Gandhiji interviewed Lord Wavell in Simla.

July 11: Gandhiji again met the Viceroy.

December 3: At Calcutta Gandhiji interviewed Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal.

Dec. 10: Gandhiji interviewed Lord Wavell in Calcutta.

CREED OF NON-VIOLENCE RE-AFFIRMED

Dec. 11: Congress Working Committee approved Gandhiji's resolution reaffirming the Congress creed of non-violence.

1946.

1949 Jan. 17 : Gandhiji visited Dum Dum Central Jail and met security prisoners.

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION MEETS GANDHIJI

Jan. 24 and 25 : Members of the British Parliamentary Delegation met Gandhiji in Madras when issues relating to India's independence were comprehensively discussed. Referring to his meeting with the Parliamentary Delegation, Gandhiji observed: "*Swaraj* has to come through our own strength, but we might get help from other quarters. It will be welcome. But we should understand that freedom could never come as a gift from outside."

Jan. 26 : Gandhiji inaugurated the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha in Madras. Presided over the convocation. Exhorted the new graduates to live up to their pledge to serve India and the cause of unity through the propagation of Hindustani.

Jan. 29 : Addressed the Constructive Workers' Conference in Madras.

FORMATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SUGGESTED

February 11 : ...Viceroy's Private Secretary met Gandhiji at Wardha and acquainted him with the food situation in the country.

Feb. 12: Gandhiji suggested that a National Government should be formed, representative of the elected members of the Central Legislature, irrespective of parties, to meet the food crisis in the country.

CABINET MISSION

March 24 : Cabinet Mission arrived in New Delhi.

April 1 : Sir Stafford Cripps met Gandhiji in New Delhi.

April 2 : In a statement Gandhiji explained the implications of "Quit India."

April 3 : Gandhiji met the Cabinet Mission. He observed : " It is unmanly to disbelieve the Cabinet Mission."

April 9 : Met the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief.

April 24 : Mr. Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the U. S. Famine Emergency Commission, met Gandhiji.

May 1 : Gandhiji arrived in Simla and met the Viceroy and Sir Stafford Cripps.

May 12 : The Simla Conference ends in breakdown.

THE BEST DOCUMENT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD PRODUCE

May 16 : Gandhiji in New Delhi declared, "The Cabinet Mission's proposals contained the seed to convert this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering."

May 26 : In *Harijan* Gandhiji said : "After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances."

June 11 : Gandhiji met the Viceroy in New Delhi. Later in the day he explained to the Congress Working Committee what took place at his meeting with the Viceroy.

June 16 : Gandhiji met Lord Pethick-Lawence.

EUROPEANS AND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

June 23 : Gandhiji in *Harijan* wrote : "That the Europeans will neither vote nor offer themselves for election should be a certainty if a Constituent Assembly worthy of the name is at all to be formed."

CABINET MISSION'S LONG TERM PROPOSALS ACCEPTED

June 25 : The Congress rejects the Cabinet

Mission's interim plan and accepts the long-term proposals relating to the convening of a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of India. Gandhiji gave a directive to the people to follow the lead given by the Congress Working Committee in accepting the long-term plan.

FORMATION OF CONGRESS INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Sept. 2 : Interim Government formed by the Congress.

Sept. 26 : Political discussions between the Viceroy on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and the Nawab of Bhopal on the other.

Sept. 29 : The Nawab of Bhopal met Gandhiji.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ENTERS INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Oct. 15 : Interim Government reconstituted with the entry of the Muslim League party.

Oct 30 : Gandhiji in Calcutta where he met Sir Frederick Burrows, Governor of Bengal.

IN NOAKHALI-TIPPERAH AREAS

Nov. 6 : Gandhiji left by special train for a tour of the Noakhali-Tipperah areas. In an effort to instil confidence in the thousands of refugees he set an example by living alone for several weeks in a hut in the small village of Srirampur, in one of the worst-affected parts of Noakhali and a predomi-

1948

LAST FAST

Jan. 13 : Gandhiji started his fast for communal unity. This was his fifteenth fast. He pleaded with all his visitors to try their best to put an end to communal strife in the country. He told them that he could not bear continued man-slaughter which was a slur on all religions.

NO COUNTER—GESTURE FROM PAKISTAN !

Jan. 16 ; In a written message to the prayer gathering in New Delhi Gandhiji referred to the Government of India's decision to implement immediately the financial agreement with Pakistan and said that the Indian Cabinet deserved thanks for it. He asked : " What will be the Pakistan's counter-gesture ? The ways are many, if there is the will. Is it there ? "

GANDHIJI BREAKS FAST

Jan. 18 : Gandhiji broke his fast following assurances given by the Peace Committee that they would maintain peace and fulfil his seven point programme.

DESIRE TO LIVE FULL SPAN OF LIFE

In the message of the prayer meeting he said that if the pledge for communal unity was fulfilled, it would revive with redoubled force his intense wish and prayer before God that he be enabled to live the full span of life doing service to humanity till

the last moment. "That span," he added, "according to learned opinion, is at least 1-5 years, some say 133 years."

BOMB EXPLOSION IN THE PRAYER MEETING

Jan. 20: A bomb exploded at Mahatma Gandhi's prayer meeting at a distance of only 15 yards from him.

Jan. 21: In his prayer speech Gandhiji referred to the bomb explosion and, said that no one should look down on the misguided youth (Madan Lal) who had thrown the bomb.

CONVERSION, NOT COERCION !

Mahatmaji added that he had told the Inspector-General of Police not to harass the accused in any way. The people should try to win him over and convert him to right thinking and doing. They should pity him, he said.

(The "*Hindustan Times*")

Jany. 22: For first time after fast Gandhiji was able to walk to the prayer-ground.

NETAJI'S BIRTHDAY

Jany. 23: Anniversary of Subhasbabu's birthday, "In memory of the great patriot," said Gandhiji, "they should cleanse their hearts of all communal bitterness"

INWARD 'CLEANSING ESSENTIAL

Jany. 24 : Prayer over, Gandhiji suggested that there should be complete forgetting of the past if there was a thorough inward cleansing.

Jany. 25 : All quiet in Delhi .

LAST GOODWILL GESTURE TOWARDS MUSLIMS

Jany. 26 : Gandhiji's pilgrimage to the Muslim shrine at Mahrauli (near Delhi).

IN LABOUR.....OUR SALVATION !

Jany. 29 : Gandhiji advised refugees to learn to make the best of the situation in which they found themselves. "It was true," said Gandhiji, "we are all labourers. In honest labour lay our salvation and the satisfaction of all vital needs".

MAHATMA GANDHI KILLED BY ASSASSIN'S BULLET

Jany. 30 : Mahatma Gandhi died shortly after 5 P.M. Shot at three times at a point-blank range by Nathuram (Narayan) Vinayak Godse.

—○—
J A I H I N D
—○—





GANDHIAN GEMS

(Glittering Galaxy of Gandhian Gems)

—:0:—

TEACHINGS & PREACHINGS

of

MAHATMA GANDHI.

ABUSE

We should meet abuse by forbearance.

Human nature is so constituted that if we take absolutely no notice of anger or abuse, the person indulging in it will soon weary of it and stop.

Supposing some one showers abuse on us, what shall we do? We will not ask him to be quiet, but shall shut our own ears.

ACTION

All action in this world has some drawback about it. It is man's duty and privilege to reduce it, and while living in the midst of it to remain untouched by it as much as it is possible for him to do so.

In the divine account-books only our actions are noted, not what we have read or what we have spoken.

ADAPTABILITY.

Adaptability is not imitation. It means power of resistance and assimilation.

ADULTERY.

A woman is worthy of condemnation only when she is a willing party to her dishonour. In no case are adultery and criminal assault synonymous terms.

ADVANCE

A nation cannot advance, without the units of which it is composed advancing and conversely no individual can advance, without the nation of which he is a part also advancing.

ADVERSARIES

✓ Three fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world will disappear if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint. We will then agree with our adversaries or think of them charitably.

ADVERTISEMENT—IMMORAL

I do hold that it is wrong to conduct newspapers by the aid of these immoral advertisements.

AGITATION

Agitation means no more than movement towards something. Undisciplined agitation which is a paraphrase of violence of speech or deed, can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution.....

Well-ordered, persistent agitation is the soul of healthy progress.

AHIMSA

Ahimsa accrues only to the courageous.

Ahimsa is the strongest force known.

True *Ahimsa* lies in running into the mouth of *himsa*.

Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer.

Ahimsa means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering.

Ahimsa is a weapon of matchless potency. It is the *summum bonum* of life.

Ahimsa must be placed before everything else while it is professed.

Ahimsa trusts the opponent.

Ahimsa does not attribute motives.

Ahimsa, in its positive form, means the largest love, the greatest charity.

Ahimsa and *Satya* (Truth) are my two lungs. I cannot live without them.

Truth is my religion and *Ahimsa* is the only way of its realization.

The highest religion has been defined by a negative word—*Ahimsa*.

I will not sacrifice truth and *Ahimsa* even for the deliverance of my country or religion.

Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of *Ahimsa*.

The principle of *Ahimsa* is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by holding on what the world needs.

Without *Ahimsa* it is not possible to seek and find Truth.

Ahimsa and truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth, unstamped metallic disc. Who can say, which is the obverse and which is the reverse?

Ahimsa really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy.

For one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa* there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy.

If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of *Ahimsa*.

Ahimsa is the religion of a *Kshatriya*.

Ahimsa is impossible without fearlessness.

Ahimsa is an attribute of the brave, in fact it is their all.

The sun of *Ahimsa* carries all the hosts of darkness such as hatred, anger and malice before himself.

Ahimsa is not the way of the timid or the cowardly. It is the way of the brave ready to face death.

To me it (*Ahimsa*) is one of the active forces in the world.

Ahimsa is infinitely greater than the gems and the diamonds people prize so much.

Where the law of *Ahimsa* reigns supreme, there should be no jealousy, no unworthy ambition, no crime.

He who trifles with truth cuts at the root of *Ahimsa*.

Ahimsa is a science.

The fulfilment of *Ahimsa* is impossible without purity.

Ahimsa means Universal Love.

In the life beyond there is no *Himsa* or *Ahimsa*.

The alphabet of *Ahimsa* is best learnt in the domestic school.

Thousands like myself may die in trying to vindicate the ideal but *Ahimsa* will never die.

In its positive form, *Ahimsa* means the largest love, the greatest charity.

Ahimsa accrues only to the courageous.

AIM

Man's ultimate aim is the realisation of God, and all his activities—social, political, religious—have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it.

ALIEN RULE

Alien rule is like a foreign matter in an organic body. Remove the poison and the body will at once start recuperating. If we are prevented from running at one another's throats simply because of the superimposed force of alien rule, the sooner that force is removed the better.

AMBITION

Let it be our ambition to live as the children of the same mother, retaining our individual faiths, like the countless leaves of one tree.

ANARCHY

Though anarchy is every time better than slavery, it is a state which I would not only have no hand in consciously bringing into being but which I am by nature unfitted to bring about.

ANCIENT

I am no indiscriminate, superstitious worshipper of all that goes under the name of ancient.

I never hesitated to endeavour to demolish all that is evil or immoral, no matter how ancient it may be, but with that reservation I must confess to you that I am an adorer of ancient institutions, and it hurts me to think that a people in their rush for everything modern despise all their ancient traditions and ignore them in their lives.

ANGER—ANGRY

Anger and intolerance are the twin enemies of correct understanding. Anger is the enemy of *Ahimsa*; and pride is a monster that swallows it up. Anger is sort of madness and the noblest causes have been damaged by advocates affected with temporary lunacy.

I know to banish anger altogether from one's heart is a difficult task. It cannot be achieved through pure, personal effort. It can be done only by God's grace.

"It is not that I do not get angry. I do not give vent to anger. I cultivate the quality of patience as angerlessness, and generally speaking succeed. But I only control my anger when it comes.

He who is angry is guilty of *Ahimsa*.

I do sometimes become extremely angry with myself but I also pray to be delivered from that devil and God has given me power to suppress my anger.

ANIMAL FOOD

Experience teaches that animal food is unsuited to those who would curb their passions.

ANIMAL SACRIFICE

It is defaming God to offer animal sacrifices in temples. What God wants, if he can be said to want anything, is the sacrifice made by a humble and contrite heart.

ARBITRATE

It is a sign of weakness, not of fitness for *Swaraj*, to go to the foreign ruling power to arbitrate between us or to enforce the peace between us at the point of the bayonet.

ARMS—ARMED—ARMAMENTS

Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not of cowardice. Indian masses won't take to arms even if they could be given the necessary training.

The only antidote to armaments, which are the symbol of violence, is *Satyagraha*, the visible symbol of non-violence.

I for one do not consider it worth while to devote my life to procuring an armed neutrality.

Physical possession of arms is the last necessity of the brave.

To seek to win in a clash of arms would be pure bravado.

ART—ARTIST

True art takes note not merely of form but

also of what lies behind.

There is an art that kills and an art that gives life.

True art must be evidence of happiness, contentment and purity of its authors.

Who can deny that much that passes for science and art today destroys the soul instead of uplifting it and instead of evoking the best in us panders to our basest passions?

Few people who have devoted themselves to art are known to have achieved unique blending of devotion to art and pure and blameless life.

But I did not think that European art was superior to Indian art. Both these arts have developed on different lines. Indian art is entirely based on the imagination. European art is an imitation of nature. It is therefore easier to understand, but turns our attention to the earth; while Indian art when understood tends to direct our thoughts to heaven.

As I am nearing the end of my earthly life, I can say that purity of life is the highest and truest art.

All true art.....is the expression of the soul.

The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony

of a pure life is achieved very rarely.

All true art must help the soul to realise its inner self.

What conscious Art of man can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me, when I look up to the sky above with all its shining stars?

An artist never tires of his effort.

Whenever men begin to see Beauty in Truth, then true Art will arise.

ASSISTANCE

Conditional assistance is like adulterated cement that does not bind.

BEAUTY

Real beauty is the beauty of the soul.

True beauty consists in purity of heart.

BELIEVE—BELIEF

I must, at any rate, refuse to believe anything against anybody, much less against my honoured fellow-workers, unless I have absolute proof.

Man often becomes what he believes himself to be. If I keep on saying to myself that I cannot do a certain thing, it is possible that I may end by really becoming incapable of doing it.

On the contrary, if I have the belief that I can do it, I shall surely acquire the capacity to do it even if I may not have it at the beginning.

BHAKTI (Devotion)

Bhakti means faith in God and in ourselves as His instruments, and it enables us to renounce our all. It is difficult to renounce for the sake of renunciation. A mother would not by choice sleep in wet bed but she will gladly do so in order to spare the dry bed for her child.

BHANGI

The ideal *bhāngi* of my conception would be a Brahmin *par-excellence*, possibly even excell him.

It is possible to envisage the existence of a *bhāngi* without a Brahmin. But without the former the latter could not be.

A *bhāngi* does for society what a mother does for her baby. A mother washes her baby of the dirt and insures his health. Even so the *bhāngi* protects and safeguards the health of the entire community by maintaining sanitation for it.

The Brahmin's duty is to look after the sanitation of the soul, the *bhāngi*'s that of the body of society; the Brahmin generally does not live upto his duty, the *bhāngi* does willy-nilly no doubt.

Society is sustained by several services. The *bhāngi* constitutes the foundation of all services.

And yet our woe-begone Indian society has branded the *bhangi* as a social pariah, set him down at the bottom of the scale, held him fit only to receive kicks, and abuse, a creature who must subsist on the leavings of the caste-people and dwell on the dung-heap. He is without a friend, his very name has become a term of reproach.

I know this much that by looking down upon the *bhangi* we — Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and all—have deserved the contempt of the whole world.

In my opinion an ideal *bhangi* should have a thorough knowledge of the principles of sanitation. He should know how a right kind of latrine is constructed, and the correct way of cleaning it. He should know how to overcome and destroy the odour of excreta and the various disinfectants to render them innocuous. He should likewise know the process of converting night-soil and urine into manure.

The *bhangi* has been the most despised of the *Harijans* because his work has been regarded as the most degrading. But we forget that our mothers did that very work whilst we were babies innocent of all cleanliness. If that work was ignoble, the *bhangi's* would be ignoble, but if it was noble the *bhangi's* work is also noble. But our mothers cleaned our filth because we were their babies, because they could not do otherwise, because they were wrapped up in us and adored their own selves in us. Their work was thus selfish. The volunteer *bhangi's* work is unselfish and thus, nobler than that of mothers. And if I revere my

mother and therefore the whole of womankind, is it not clear that I should adore the volunteer *bhangi* even more ?

BIRTH AND DEATH

Birth and death are not two different states, but they are different aspects of the same state. There is as little reason to deplore the one as there is to be pleased over the other.

BIRTHS AND REBIRTHS

I am a believer in previous births, and rebirths. All our relationships are the result of the *sanskars* we carry from our previous births. God's laws are inscrutable and are the subject of endless search. No one will fathom them.

BIRTH CONTROL.

There can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth control. But the only method handed down from ages past is self-control or *Brahmcharya*. It is an infallible sovereign remedy doing good to those who practise it.

And medical men will earn the gratitude of mankind, if instead of devising artificial means of birth control they will find out the means of self-control. The union is meant not for pleasure but for bringing forth progeny. And union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent.

Birth control to me is a dismal abyss. It amounts to playing with unknown forces.

Assuming that birth control by artificial aids is justifiable under certain conditions, it seems to be utterly impracticable of application among the millions.

BLIND ADORATION

Blind adoration, in the age of action, is perfectly valueless, is often embarrassing and equally often painful.

BLUNTNESS

Bluntness is better than put up courtesy.

BODY—LABOUR

But everyone must perform some useful body-labour.

For me at the present moment spinning is the only body-labour..... I do not give enough body-labour. That is also one of the reasons why I consider myself as living upon charity.

How can a man, who does not do body-labour, have the right to eat ?

BONDAGE

Rather die begging than live in bondage.

BOYCOTT

Boycott is a form of revenge.

Boycott of foreign cloth means the saving by India's millions of at least 60 crores.

Boycott of British goods, whilst we retain the British connection, is a blunder of the first magnitude.

And boycott means complete renunciation.

From Non-co-operation to Boycott is a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Social boycott is an age-old institution. It is coeval with caste. It is the one terrible sanction exercised with great effect. It is based upon the notion that a community is not bound to extend its hospitality or service to an ex-communicate.

Social boycott is applicable and effective when it is not felt as a punishment and accepted by the object of boycott as a measure of discipline.

BRAHMCHARYA—BRAHMCHĀRI

The full and proper meaning of *Brahmcharya* is search of *Brahman*. *Brahman* pervades every being and can therefore be searched by diving into and realising the inner self. The realisation is impossible without complete control of the senses. *Brahmcharya* thus means control in thought, word and action, of all the senses at all times and in all places.

A man or woman completely practising *Brahmcharya* is absolutely free from passion. Such a one therefore lives nigh unto God, is Godlike.

I have no doubt that it is possible to practise such *Brahmcharya* in thought, word and action to the fullest extent.

Brahmcharya is not mere mechanical celibacy, it means complete control over all the senses and freedom from lust in thought, word and deed. As such it is the royal road to self realisation or attainment of *Brahman*.

The fact that the world rests on the observance, more or less, of *Brahmcharya* or restraint means that it is necessary and practicable.

Brahmcharya is to be observed in thought, word and deed.

Brahmcharya means *charya* or course of conduct adapted to the search of *Brahman* or truth.

The ideal *Brahmchari* has not to struggle with sensual desire or desire for procreation ; it never troubles him at all.

A *Brahmchari* must needs control his palate. He must eat to live, and not for enjoyment. He must see only clean things and close his eyes before anything unclean.

A *Brahmchari* will likewise hear to nothing obscene or unclean, smell no strong, stimulating things.

Let the aspirant to *Brahmcharya* also keep his hands and feet engaged in all the waking hours in healthful activity. Let him also fast occasionally.

There should be a clear line between the life of a *Brahmchari* and one who is not. The resemblance that there is between the two is only

apparent. The distinction ought to be clear as daylight. Both use their eyesight, but whereas the *Brahmchari* uses it to see the glories of God, the other uses it to see the frivolity around him. Both use their ears, but whereas the one hears nothing but praises of God, the other feasts his ears upon ribaldry. Both often keep late hours, but whereas one devotes them to prayer, the other fritters them away in wild and wasteful mirth. Both feed the inner man, but the one only to keep the temple of God in good repair, while the other gorges himself and makes the sacred vessel a sinking gutter. Thus both live as the poles apart, and distance between them will grow and not diminish with the passage of time.

Brahmacharya is the control of all the organs of sense."

Brahmchari means searcher after God, one who conducts himself so as to bring himself nearest to God in the least possible time.

BRAVERY—BRAVE

Bravery is not a quality of the body, it is of the soul.

Bravery is essential to both *himsa* and *ahimsa*. In fact it is even more essential in the latter, for *Ahimsa* is nothing if it is not the acme of bravery.

There can be no friendship between the brave and the effeminate.

Physical possession of arms is the last necessity of the brave.

He who perishes sword in hand is no doubt brave; but he who faces death without raising his little finger and without flinching is braver.

If it is brave, as it is, to die to a man fighting against odds, it is braver still to refuse to fight and yet refuse to yield to the usurper.

Let us all be brave enough to die the death of a martyr, but let no one lust for martyrdom.

A brave man always gives credit to the other party for its *bona fides*.

There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and without bitterness of spirit and the fullness of faith that the spirit alone lives, nothing else does.

The brave meet death with a smile on their lips.

BREAD—LABOUR

There seems to be some confusion about the principle of bread-labour. It is never opposed to social service. Intelligent bread-labour is any day the highest form of social service. For what can be better than that a man should by his personal labour add to the useful wealth of the country? 'Being' is 'doing'.

A person who laboures for the general good of all serves society and is worthy of the hire. Therefore, such bread-labour is not different from social service.

Sacrifice may be of many kinds. One of them may be bread-labour. If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as we see around. Such labour will be the highest form of sacrifice.

Obedience to the law of bread-labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society.

Return to the villages means a definite voluntary recognition of the duty of bread-labour and all it connotes.

Similarly, compulsory obedience to the law of bread-labour breeds poverty, disease and discontent. It is a state of slavery. Willing obedience to it must bring contentment and health...The Village Industries Association is an experiment in willing bread-labour.

Again, invidious distinctions of rank would be abolished, when everyone without exception acknowledged the obligation of bread-labour.

Bread-labour is a veritable blessing to one who would observe Non-violence, worship Truth, and make the observance of *Brahmcharya* a natural act.

(THE) BRITISH.

My love of the British is equal to that of my own people. I am not anti-English; I am not anti-any Government; but I am anti-untruth, anti-lunbug and anti-justice.

The history of the British rule is a history of usurpation.

It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation.

I would not be guilty of inviting any power to invade India for the purpose of expelling the British.

Hardly ever have I known anybody to cherish such loyalty as I did to the British Constitution.

In Akbar's time the birth of a Pratap was possible and in Aurangzeb's time, a Shivaji could flourish.

Have 150 years of British rule produced any Pratap and Shivaji ?

I have compared the British rule to a wedge and no sooner the wedge is removed than the divided parts will unite.

The British need not come all the way to India as rulers to teach us political wisdom.

The British are pouring blood like water and squandering gold like dust to preserve their liberty.

I claim to be a life-long and wholly disinterested friend of the British people.

An organisation like the British kingship is not personal.

I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire.

I tender my loyalty to the British Government quite selfishly.

What severer condemnation can be pronounced upon the British Government than that, for the commercial greed of the British nation, it has emasculated a whole people?

It (the British rule) has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It (the British rule) has reduced us politically to serfdom, it has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of cruel disarmament it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking the inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen, in general, to be worse than any other people on earth.

British rule is no philanthropic job, it is a terribly earnest business proposition worked out from day to day with deadly precision. The coating of a benevolence that is periodically given to it merely prolongs the agony.

There is much in British political institutions that I admire.

I must dare say that the Moghul and the Maratha Governments were better than the British, in that the nation as a whole was not emasculate or so impoverished as it is today.

No empire intoxicated with red wine of power and plunder of weaker races has yet lived long in this world, and this British Empire, which is based upon organised exploitation of physically weaker races of the earth and upon a continuous exhibition of brute force, cannot live if there is a just God ruling the universe.

BROTHERS

What can be more natural than that Hindus and Musalmans born and bred in India having the same adversities, the same hopes, should be permanent friends, brothers born of the same Mother India? The surprise is that we should fight, not that we should unite!

BRUTE FORCE

The wielder of brute force does not scruple about the the means to be used.

I am more concerned in preventing the brutalization of human nature than in preventing the sufferings of my own people.

In this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for any one to believe that any one else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force.

BUDDH—BUDDHISM

It is my fixed opinion that Buddhism or rather the teaching of Buddha found its full fruition in India, and it could not be otherwise, for Gāutama was himself a Hindu of Hindus.

So far as I have been able to understand the central fact of Buddha's life, *Nirvana* is utter extinction of all that is base in us, all that is corrupt and corruptible in us. *Nirvana* is not like the black, dead peace of the grave but the living peace, the living happiness of a soul which is conscious of itself, and conscious of having found its own abode in the heart of the Eternal.

Great as Buddha's contribution to humanity was in restoring God to His eternal place, in my humble opinion greater still was his contribution to humanity in his exacting regard for all life, be it ever so low.

BUREAUCRATIC

It is contrary to my nature to believe in the depravity of human feelings. But there is so much evidence about me of the depravity of the bureaucratic mind that it will not stop at anything to gain its end.

BUSINESS—BUSINESSMAN

It is wrong to think that business is incompatible with ethics. I know that it is perfectly possible to carry one's business profitably and yet honestly and truthfully.

The plea that business and ethics never agree is advanced only by those who are actuated by nothing higher than narrow self-interest.

I do not hold dishonest practices in business to be warranted or excusable.

The principle of unconditional honesty is as binding in this as in any other field of life, and it is up to a businessman never to compromise his principle no matter what it may cost him.

There should be in it (business) no fraud, sharp practice or finesse, to bamboozle the simple, unsuspecting customer.

CALAMITY

By nature I am so fitted that every calamity moves me irrespective of the people whom it may overtake.

CAMPS

No organisation can run smoothly when it is divided into camps, each growling at the other and each determined to have its own way by hook or by crook.

CAPITAL—LABOUR. CAPITALISTS

In the struggle between capital and labour, it may be generally said that more often than not the capitalists are in the wrong box. But when labour comes fully to realise its strength, it can become more tyrannical than capital. The

millowners will have to work on the terms dictated by labour, if the latter could command intelligence of the former. It is clear, however, that labour will never attain to that intelligence. If it does, labour will cease to be labour and become itself the master.

The capitalists do not fight on the strength of money alone. They do possess intelligence and tact.

Swaraj as conceived by me does not mean the end of kingdom. Nor does it mean the end of capital.

Accumulated capital means ruling power.

I am for the establishment of right relations between capital and labour, etc. I do not wish for the supremacy of the one over the other. I do not think there is any antagonism between them. The rich and the poor will always be with us.

I have always said that my ideal is that capital and labour should supplement and help each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony, capital not only looking to the material welfare of the labourers but their moral welfare also,—capitalists being trustees for the welfare of the labouring classes under them.

All capitalists, according to some, are born ogres. But there need be no such inherent antipathy between the two. It is an erroneous notion.

If the capitalists are apt to be proud of their wealth, the working men are apt to be proud of their numerical strength. We are liable to be

swayed and intoxicated by the same passion as the capitalists, and it must be our prayer that both may be free from that passion.

A nation may do without its millionaires and without its capitalists but a nation can never do without its labour.

The mad rush for wealth must cease, and the labourer must be assured not only of a living wage, but a daily task that is not mere drudgery.

It can be easily demonstrated that destruction of the capitalist must mean destruction in the end of the worker and as no human being is so bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom he wrongly considers to be wholly evil.

There is a worldwide conflict between capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich. If all worked for their bread, distinctions of rank would be obliterated, the rich would still be there, but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property, and would use it mainly in the public interest.

No doubt capital is lifeless, but not capitalists, who are amenable to conversion.

By the non-violent method we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy capitalism.

We invite the capitalist to regard himself as a trustee for those on whom he depends for the making, the retention and the increase of his capital.

If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realised his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer with the capitalist instead of remaining his slave.

CASTE

Hinduism does not believe in caste. I would obliterate it at once.

I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and a handicap on progress.

Thus caste, in so far as it connotes distinctions in status, is an evil.

CAUSE

No cause can survive internal difficulties if they are indefinitely multiplied. Yet there can be no surrender in the matter of principles for the avoidance of splits.

You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital parts.

A cause has the best of success, when it is examined and followed on its own merits.

The cause is everything. Those even who are dearest to us must be shunted for the sake of the cause.

CEMENT

I am striving to become the best cement

your own. The Principal and the Professor cannot give you character from the pages of books. Character building comes from your very lives, and, really speaking, it must come from within yourselves, .

CHARKHA (SPINNING WHEEL) .

The *Charkha* is the reviving draught for millions of our dying countrymen and countrywomen.

In losing the *Charkha*, we lost our left lung.

The *Charkha* is a symbol of simplicity, self-reliance, self-control, voluntary co-operation among millions.

The call of the Spinning Wheel is the noblest of all because it is the call of love.

I adhere to the gospel of the *charkha* as one of my most substantial activities.

The winter of despair can only be turned into the sunshine of hope for the millions only through the life-giving wheel *charkha*.

Its message is one of simplicity, service of mankind, living so as not to hurt others, creating an indissoluble bond between the rich and the poor, capital and labour, the prince and the peasant.

Charkha is the only thing that can bring a ray of sunshine into the dark and dilapidated dungeon of the half-starved peasantry.

In my loneliness, *Charkha* is my only infallible friend and comforter. May it be so to the reader!

Charkha will save our women from forced violation of their purity.

I see a vital connection between *Charkha* and non-violence.

The *Charkha* should be, as it was, the widow's loving companion.

The cause of the spinning wheel is too great and too good to have to rest on mere hero-worship.

The educative value of the *Charkha* is not to be surpassed.

The *Charkha* at any rate is incapable of harming anybody.

In the melting plains of Madras and Andhra, I can imagine no industry so helpful as the gantle-moving *Charkha*.

It is for the women of India a large number of whom do not get even an anna per day, that I am going about the country with my *Charkha* (Spinning Wheel) and my begging bowl.

The greatest of my activities is *Charkha*. I hold it to be the best part of my service—, social, political and spiritual. For it includes these branches of service.

I may repeat that I would to-day discard the *Charkha* if someone shows a better and more universal political programme than hand-spinning.

between the two communities (Hindus and Musalmans). My longing is to be able to cement the two with my blood, if necessary.

CEREMONIES

I do not believe in ceremonies except to the extent that they awaken in us a sense of duty.

CHANGE

Change is condition of progress.

CHAOS

Chaos means no rule, no order.

I want neither the existing rule nor chaos.

I want true order established without having to go through the travail of chaos.

CHARACTER

If you have no character to lose, people will have no faith in you.

Character alone will have effect on masses.

Schools and Colleges are the factories for the making of character.

All your scholarship, all your study of Shakespeare and Wordsworth would be in vain, if at the same time you do not build your character and attain mastery over your thoughts and actions.

A dissolute character is more dissolute in thought than in deed.

The real property that a parent can transmit to all equally is his or her character.

What is education without character, and what is character without elementary personal purity?

The end of all knowledge must be building up of character.

As a splendid palace deserted by its inmates looks like a ruin, so does a man without character, all his material belongings notwithstanding.

Character, not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the test of merit.

A man of character will make himself worthy of any position he is given.

Purity of character and salvation depend on purity of heart.

It is said that everybody's character is his own concern. Though I have known this view to have been often taken I have never been able to appreciate, much less to adopt it.

Knowledge without character is a power for evil only, as seen in the instances of so many 'talented thieves' and 'gentlemen rascals' in the world.

Character, not brains, will count at the crucial moment.

But character cannot be built with mortar and stone. It cannot be built by other hands than

But up to this time I have been shown none. I am anxious to know if there is any.

I present you with the *Charkha* and suggest to you that on it depends India's economic salvation. It is no sacrifice to learn a beautiful art and to be able to clothe the naked at the same time.

It (*Charkha*) is the one thing that can bring a ray of sunshine into the dark and dilapidated dungeon of the half-starved peasantry. And, since I believe that where there is pure and active love for the poor there is God also, I see God in every thread that I draw on the *Charkha*.

If some one convinces me today that there is no poverty in India, that there are few in India who starve for want of even a few pice a day, I shall own myself to have been mistaken and shall destroy the *Charkha*.

It (*Charkha*) is the symbol of the nation's prosperity and therefore freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but of commercial peace. It bears not a message of ill-will towards the nations of the earth but of good-will and self-help.

CHIVALRY—CHIVALROUS

Chivalry is a part of *Ahimsa*. *Ahimsa* without it is lame, it cannot work.

A chivalrous boy would always keep his mind pure, his eyes straight, and his hands unpolluted.

CHILDREN

Children inherit the qualities of the parents; no less than their physical features.

Children take in much more and with less labour through their ears, than through their eyes.

I have also seen children successfully surmounting the efforts of an evil inheritance. That is due to purity being an inherent attribute of the soul.

I wish you could realise that the destiny of our beloved land lies not in us, the parents, but in our children.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In civil disobedience the resister suffers the consequences of disobedience.

Civil disobedience is not a state of lawlessness and licence, but pre-supposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint.

Pure civil disobedience must not be carried beyond the point of breaking the immoral laws of the country.

Civil disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering. Its effect is marvellous though unperceived and gentle.

To expect me to give up the preaching of civil disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace, which would be tantamount to ask me to commit suicide.

Civil disobedience has to be civil in more senses than one. There can be no bravado, no impetuosity about it. It has to be an ordered, well-thought-out, humble offering.

Civil disobedience means capacity for unlimited suffering, without the intoxicating excitement to killing.

Preparation for civil disobedience means discipline, self-restraint, a non-violent but resisting spirit, cohesion and above all scrupulous and willing obedience to the known laws of God and such laws of man as are in furtherance of God's laws.

Civil disobedience asks for and needs not a single farthing for its support. It needs and asks for stout hearts with a faith that will not flinch from any danger and will shine the brightest in the face of severest trial.

Civil disobedience is a terrifying synonym for suffering.

All civil disobedience is a part or branch of *Satyagraha* but all *Satyagraha* is not disobedience.

I repeat what I have said a thousand times that, if millions spun for *Swaraj* and in the spirit of non-violence, there will probably be no necessity for civil disobedience.

CIVILITY—INCIVILITY

Experience has taught me that civility is the most difficult part of *Satyagraha*. Civility does not here mean the mere outward gentleness of speech cultivated for the occasion, but an inborn gentleness and desire to do the opponent good. These should show themselves in every act of a *Satyagrahi*.

Incivility should be answered not by incivility but by a dignified and calm endurance of all suffering in the name of God.

CIVILIZATION

The very essence of our civilization is that we give a paramount place to morality in all our affairs, public or private.

I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilization.

Why should we be blotting sheets of western civilization?

There is no such thing as Western or European civilization.

It is not the British people who rule India, but modern civilization rules India through its railways, telegraph, telephones etc.

Industrial civilization is a disease because it is all evil.

Civilization based on non-violence must be different from that organised for violence.

Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization.

CLEAN—UNCLEAN

Sawaraj can be had only by brave and clean people.

We can no more gain God's blessings with an unclean body than with an unclean mind.

A mind consciously unclean cannot be cleaned by fasting.

COERCION

There can be no coercion in *Sawaraj*. A non-co-operator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology whatsoever for his criminality.

Conversion is our motto, not coercion.

Coercion is an offspring of violence. Conversion is a fruit of non-violence and love.

COMMONSENSE

Commonsense is the realised sense of proportion.

COMMUNAL HARMONY

Non-violence is at the root of every one of my activities and therefore also of the three public

activities on which I am just now visibly concentrating all my energies. These are untouchability, *Khadi* and village regeneration in general. Hindu-Muslim Unity is my fourth love. But so far as any visible manifestation is concerned, I have owned defeat on the score. Let the public, however, not assume therefrom that I am inactive. If not during my life-time, I know that after my death both Hindus and Musalmans will bear witness that I had never ceased to yearn after Communal Harmony.

COMMUNAL PACTS

Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore, communal pacts, while they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts, without which there can be no peace in the land.

COMMUNISM

An ideal (Communism) that is sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain.

The underlying belief of Communism is as good and as old as the hills.

COMPLEXION

It is a law of nature that the skin of race living near the equator should be black. And if we believe that there must be beauty in everything fashioned by nature, we would not only steer clear of all narrow and one-sided conceptions of beauty, but we in India would be free from the improper

sense of more shame and dislike which we feel for our own complexion if it is anything but fair.

COMPROMISE

A *satyagrahi* never misses, can never miss a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle.

But all my life through, the very insistence on truth has taught me to appreciate the beauty of compromise.

Human life is a series of compromise, and it is not always easy to achieve in practice what one has found to be true in theory.

There are eternal principles which admit of no compromise, and one must be prepared to lay down one's life in the practice of them.

Compromise is a part and parcel of my nature. But my compromise will never be at the cost of the cause or of the country.

All compromise is based on give and take, but there can be no give and take on fundamentals. Any compromise on mere fundamentals is a surrender. For it is all give and no take

My life is made up of compromises, but they have been compromises that have brought me near the goal.

No compromise is worth the name which endangers chances of success.

COMPULSION

'We may not use compulsion even in the matter of doing a good thing Any compulsion will ruin the cause

CONFIDENCE

That man who has inspired confidence in another has never lost anything in this world.

CONGRESS

Of all the organisations of the world the Congress is the best fitted to show it the better way, indeed the only way, to the true life

We should have been nowhere if there had been no Congress to agitate for the rights of people

The Congress is the only truly national political organisation in the country

The Congress is not an organisation to enunciate theories, but to anticipate national wants and wishes, and forge practical sanctions for their fulfilment.

The Congress is essentially and pre-eminently a Kisan organisation

It is not right to say that Congress is a Hindu organisation

It is a gross superstition to believe that one cannot serve effectively without the Congress prestige at one's back ;

What is the Congress to do if Muslims would not care to go into it?

The Congress endeavours to represent all communities.

The Congress claims to be the custodian of all interests, even of English interests, in so far as they would regard India as their home and not claim any interests in conflict with those of the dumb millions.

I do not consider the Congress as a party organisation.

The Congress is no preserve of any single individual. It is a democratic body with, in my opinion, the widest intelligent franchise the world has ever seen.

The Congress does not prescribe to anybody his religion.

The Congress is the power-house from which all the power for all the work is to be derived. If the power-house is rotten, the whole national work must be necessarily so.

The Congress is composed of ordinary mortals. They share the virtues and vices of the nation which they seek to represent.

But after all is said and done, it will not be denied that it (Congress) is the oldest political organisation in the country, it is the most representative; it has drawn to itself the best talent in the

country, it has the highest amount of sacrifice to its credit. Above all it is the one organisation that has offered the greatest resistance to foreign rule and exploitation. It is admittedly the most powerful organisation in the country. It has had the services of the most distinguished sons and daughters of the nation. It ought not to be difficult for such a body to expand itself and find its flag flying in every village.

The Congress is the very antithesis of Fascism, because it is based on non-violence pure and undefiled.

The Congress does not consider India to be a sickly child requiring nursing, outside help and other props.

The Congress is based on adult franchise, and any adult Hindu or Musalman can join the Congress. No community is excluded.

Indian National Congress, which is the oldest national political organization and which has after many battles fought her non-violent way to freedom, cannot be allowed to die. It can only die with the nation.

The Congress has won political freedom but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular.

The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom. The hardest has yet to come.

But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the servant of the nation, it was *Khudai Khidmatgar*—God's servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God's servant—nothing more, nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, it is now no longer in sole possession of the field.

Absolute protection of the rights of minorities is a greater concern of the Congress than it ever can be of Great Britain. The Congress dare not seek and cannot get justice if it is not prepared to do itself. To be above suspicion is the only way open to non-violent organisations.

We must prove to the Muslim countrymen and to the world that the Congress does not want independence at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest, be it Muslim or other. We may leave no stone unturned to carry the minorities with us.

CONGRESSMAN

A true Congressman is a true servant. He ever gives, ever wants service. He is easily satisfied so long as his own comfort is concerned. He is always content to take a back seat. He is never communal or provincial. His country is his paramount consideration. He is braver to a fault because he has shed all earthly ambition, fear of death itself. And he is generous because he is brave, and forgiving because he is humble and conscious of his own failings and limitations.

We have not as many true Congressmen as we want. No Congressman is bound to act contrary

to his political religion.

Congressmen must be servants of the nation.

CONQUEST—CONQUEROR

No conquest by force of arms is worth treasuring, if it is not followed by cultural conquest, if the conquered do not hug their chains and regard the conqueror as their benefactor.

The different forts of India are no doubt a continuous reminder of the British might. But the silent conquest of the mind of educated India is a surer guarantee of British stability than the formidable forts.

CONSCIENCE

I simply want to please my own conscience, which is God.

What must count with a public servant is the approbation of his own conscience.

He must be a rudderless vessel, who, leaving the infallible solace of his own conscience, ever seeks to please and gain the approbation of public.

There is a higher court than courts of Justice and that is the Court of Conscience. It supercedes all other courts.

✓ The human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the still small voice of conscience.

There are times when you have to obey a call which is the highest of all, i.e., the voice of conscience, even though such obedience may cost many a bitter tear, and even more, separation from friends, from family, from the state to which you may belong, from all that you have held as dear as life itself. For this obedience is the law of our being. . . .

In matters of conscience, the law of majority has no place. Wilfulness is not conscience.

A child has no conscience.

Conscience is the ripe fruit of strictest discipline. Irresponsible youngsters, therefore, who have never obeyed anything or anybody save their animal instinct have no conscience, nor therefore have all grown-up people.

The savages for instance have to all intents and purposes no conscience.

Conscience can reside only in a delicately tuned breast.

It is a truthful saying that 'conscience makes cowards of us all.' A conscientious man hesitates to assert himself, he is always humble, never boisterous, always compromising, always ready to listen, ever willing, ever anxious, to admit mistakes.

The world has no difficulty in distinguishing between conscience and an arrogant or ignorant assumption of it.

The introduction of conscience into our public life is welcome even if it has taught a few of us to stand up for human dignity and rights in the face of heaviest odds. These acts will live for ever, whereas others done under whims are like soap-bubbles enjoying a momentary existence.

CONSISTENCY—INCONSISTENCY

There is a consistency that is wise and a consistency that is foolish. A man who in order to be consistent would go bare-bodied in the hot sun of India and sunless Norway in mid-winter would be considered a fool and would lose his life in the bargain.

An honest man cannot afford to observe mechanical consistency when the mind revolts against anything as an error.

I must admit my many inconsistencies. But since I am called 'Mahatma' I might well endorse Emerson's saying that 'foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds'. There is, I fancy, a method in my inconsistencies. In my opinion there is a consistency running through seeming inconsistencies, as in nature there is a unity running through the seeming diversity.

My so-called inconsistencies are no inconsistencies to those who understand, be it only intellectually, the implication of non-violence.

I make no hobgoblin of consistency. If I am true to myself from moment to moment, I do not

mind all the inconsistencies that may be flung in my face.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Believe me that *Swaraj* will be delayed in proportion to our failure and half-heartedness in carrying out the different items of the constructive programme.

The more...the progress of the constructive programme, the greater is there the chance for civil disobedience. Granted a perfectly non-violent atmosphere and a fulfilled constructive programme, I would undertake to lead a mass civil disobedience struggle to a successful issue in the space of a few months.

The Constructive Programme is a big undertaking including a number of items. (1) Hindu-Muslim or Communal unity; (2) Removal of Untouchability; (3) Prohibition; (4) Khadi; (5) Other village industries; (6) Village sanitation; (7) New or basic education; (8) Adult education; (9) Uplift of women; (10) Education in hygiene and health; (11) Propagation of *Rashtrabhasha* (National Language); (12) Cultivating love of one's own language; (13) Working for economic equality. This list can be supplemented if necessary, but is so comprehensive that I think it can be proved to include items appearing to have been omitted.

All-embracing constructive work evokes the energy of all the units of the millions.

CONTENTMENT

Man's happiness really lies in contentment.

CONVERSION—CONVERT

Cases of real honest conversion are quite possible. If some people for their inward satisfaction and growth change their religion let them do so.

I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against the modern methods of it. Conversion now a days has become a matter of business, like any other.

Conversion in the self-purification, self-realisation is the crying need of the times.

To those who would convert India, might it not be said, Physician, heal thyself?

Surely conversion is a matter between man and his Maker who alone knows his creature's hearts.

And conversion without a clean heart is, in my opinion, a denial of God and religion.

Conversion without cleanliness of heart can only be a matter for sorrow, not joy, to a godly person.

Conversion without conviction is a mere change and not conversion, which is a revolution in one's life.

CONVICTIONS

One needs to be slow to form convictions, but once formed they must be defended against the heaviest odds.

COUNCIL

Let us not mistake reformed councils, more law courts and even governorships for real freedom or power. They are but subtler methods of emasculation.

I know for certain that it is not legal subtleties, discussions on academic justice or resolutions of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want.

Councils are not factories for making stout hearts. And freedom is miasma without stout hearts to defend it.

COUNTRYMEN

My countrymen are my nearest neighbours.

They (my countrymen) have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them.

COURAGE

Courage has never been known to be matter of muscle, it is a matter of the heart.

I have seen cowards in tough muscle, and rare courage in the frailest body.

COURTESY

Courtesy should not be mistaken for flattery, nor impudence for fearlessness.

What is readily yielded to courtesy is never yielded to force.

COW

The cow is for me a poem of pity.

I yield to no Hindu in my worship of the cow.

The cow is the purest of sub-human life.

Cow-protection is a process of purification.

Cow-protection is the dearest possession of the Hindu heart.

Cow-protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world.

Cow-protection means brotherhood between man and beast.

The Hindu believes in the cow as mother and indeed she is so.

It is a tragedy that the country which worships the cow pays scant attention to her and her progeny.

Cow-protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution.

Two of the strongest desires that keep me in the flesh are the emancipation of the 'untouchables' and the protection of the cow.

To attempt cow-protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism.

Man through the cow is enjoined to realise his identity with all that lives.

The cow in India was the best companion.

The cow is the protection of India.

When I see a cow, I do not see an animal to be eaten. I worship it and I shall defend its worship against the whole world.

Cow-protection includes the protection and service of both man and bird and beast.

The poverty of the cow is reflected in the poverty of the people.

The cow means not merely the animal, the giver of milk and innumerable other things to India, but it means also the helpless, the downtrodden and the poor.

But the cow is entirely at our mercy.. She consents to be led to slaughter, and to be embarked for Australia and gives her progeny to carry whatever burden we want it to carry, in sun or rain.

Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us

milk for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her when we grow up. Mother cow expects from us nothing but grass and grain. Our mother often falls ill and expects service from us. Mother cow rarely falls ill. Hers is an unbroken record of service which does not end with her death. Our mother when she dies means expenses of burial or cremation. Mother cow is as useful dead as when she is alive. We can make use of every part of her bones, of her body - her flesh, her intestines, her horns and her skin. Well, I say this not to disparage the mother who gives us birth, but in order to show you the substantial reasons for my worshipping the cow.

The cow is an object of worship and veneration to millions in India. I count myself among them.

COWARDICE

Cowardice is no sign of belief in God.

Cowardice should have no place in the national dictionary.

There is no disgrace greater than cowardice for fighters for Freedom.

Cowardice is perhaps the greatest vice from which we suffer and is also possibly the greatest violence, certainly far greater than bloodshed and the like that generally go under the name of violence. For it comes from want of faith in God and ignorance of His attributes.

I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advice violence.

Cowardice can never be moral.

Non-violence and cowardice go ill together.

Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice.

Fear has its use but cowardice has none.

Non-violence and cowardice are contradictory terms. Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice the greatest vice. Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering. Non-violent conduct is never demoralising, cowardice always is.

CO-WORKERS

I am not in the habit of losing co-workers. I go a long way with them in winning their affection and retaining it. But there does come a limit beyond which my compromise does not and cannot and should not go.

CREEDS

Are creeds such simple things like the clothes which a man can change at will ?

Creeds are such for which people live for ages and ages.

When anything assumes the strength of a creed, it becomes self-sustained and derives the needed support from within.

CRIME

All crime is a kind of disease and should be treated as such.

CRITICISM—CRITIC

Criticism of public men is a welcome sign of public-awakening. It keeps workers on the alert.

All criticism is not intolerance.

Healthy, well-informed, balanced criticism is the ozone of public life.

Throughout my life I have gained more from my critic friends than from my admirers, especially when the criticism was made in courteous and friendly language.

I can profit by criticism never by praise.

It is good to see ourselves as others see us. Try as we may, we are never able to know ourselves fully as we are, especially the evil side of us. This we can do only if we are not angry with our critics but will take in good heart whatever they might have to say.

CULTURE

Culture of the mind must be subservient to the heart.

There is no such thing as pure Aryan culture in existence today in India.

A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.

No culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive.

CUNNING

I believe that cunning is not only morally wrong but also politically inexpedient, and have therefore always discountenanced its use even from the practical standpoint.

CUSTOM

We must gladly give up custom that is against justice, reason, and religion of the heart.

We must not ignorantly cling to bad custom and part with it when we must, like a miser parting with his ill-gotten hoard out of pressure and expedience.

DEAD

We may think we are living, but disunited we are worse than dead.

DEEP DARKNESS

We are wrapped in deep darkness, as is evident from our impoverished cattle and other animals. They are eloquent of our irreligion rather than religion.

DEATH.

Death is at any time blessed. It is twice blessed for a warrior, who dies for his cause, i.e. Truth.

Far better than cowardice would be meeting one's death fighting.

Death is no fiend, he is the truest of friends. He delivers us from agony. He helps us against ourselves. He ever gives us new chances, new hopes. He is like sleep, a sweet restorer.

Death which is an eternal verity, is revolution.

Life persists in the face of death,

Fear of death makes us devoid both of valour and religion.

It is foolish to think that by fleeing one can trick the dread god death.

It is as clear as daylight that life and death are but phases of the same thing, the reverse and obverse of the same coin.

As Hindus we ought to be the least affected by the thought of death, since from the very cradle we are brought up to the doctrines of the spirit and the transitoriness of the body.

✓ I am fatalist enough to believe that no one can put off the hour of death when it has struck.

✓ Not the greatest medical assistance available

has saved kings and emperors from the jaws of death.

Our scriptures tell us, that childhood, old age and death are incidents only to this perishable body of ours and that man's spirit is eternal and immortal. That being so, why should we fear death?

And where there is no fear of death there can be no sorrow over it either.

What a comforting thought it is to think of death, whenever it comes, as a wise plan in the economy of nature.

For many years I have accorded intellectual assent to the proposition that death is only a big change in life and nothing more, and should be welcome whenever it arrives.

India, they say, is a nation of philosophers, and we have not been unwilling to appropriate the compliment. Still, hardly any other nation becomes so helpless in the face of death as we do. And in India, again, no other community perhaps betrays so much of this helplessness as the Hindus.

Death is a true friend, it is only our ignorance that causes us grief.

Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam. That destruction is certain if Pakistan ensures no equality of status and security of life and property for all professing the various faiths of the world, and if India copies her.

It is because we fear death so much for ourselves that we shed tears over the deaths of others.

To be afraid of death is like being afraid of discarding an old worn out garment.

I have often thought of death and have the intellectual conviction that it is sheer ignorance which makes us afraid of death.

DEATH DUTIES

Why should there not be death duties? Those sons of millionaires who are of age and yet inherit their parents' wealth, are losers for the very inheritance. The nation thus becomes a double loser. For the inheritance should rightly belong to the nation. And the nation loses again in that the full faculties of the heir are not drawn out, being crushed under the load of riches.

DEATH SENTENCE

I do regard death sentence as contrary to *ahimsa*. Only He takes life who gives it. All punishment is repugnant to *ahimsa*. Under a State governed according to the principles of *ahimsa*, therefore, a murderer would be sent to a penitentiary and there given every chance of reforming himself.

DEBT

He who repays a debt deserves no praise. In fact if he fails to do so, he may be liable to prosecution.

DECEIVER

Ultimately a deceiver only deceives himself.

DEFEAT

Defeat cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten me.

Heroes are made in the hour of defeat.

Success is -----well described as a series of glorious defeats.

It is the spirit that defies defeat.

The word defeat is not to be found in my dictionary, and everyone who is selected as a recruit in my army may be sure that there is no defeat for a *Satyagrahi*.

A soldier cannot plead difficulties in defence of his defeat.

DEMOCRACY — DEMOCRAT — DEMOCRATIC

Democracy and violence can ill go together.

Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep.

I assert in all humility that liberty and democracy become unholy when their hands are dyed with innocent blood.

The spirit of democracy cannot be established

in the midst of terrorism whether Government or popular.

Under democracy, individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded.

Any secrecy hinders the real spirit of democracy.

The spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by abolition of forms. It requires change of the heart.

Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused.

Democracy disciplined and enlightened is the first thing in the world.

In theory, the leader of democracy holds himself at the beck and call of the public. It is but right that he should do so. But he dare not do so at the sacrifice of the duty imposed upon him by the public.

A democracy prejudiced, ignorant, superstitious, will land itself in chaos and may be self-destructed.

Wars will never ensure safety for democracy.

The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without.

Without the recognition of non-violence on a national scale there is no such thing as constitutional democratic government.

If liberty and democracy are to be truly saved, they will only be by non-violent resistance no less brave, no less glorious than violent resistance.

If we want to cultivate a true sense of democracy we cannot afford to be intolerant.

Evolution of democracy is not possible if are not prepared to hear the other side.

Non-violent non-co-operation is an object-lesson in democracy.

Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine.

Democracy must in essence—mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all.

The true democrat is he who with purely non-violent means defends his liberty and therefore his country's and ultimately that of the whole mankind.

The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation.

My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest.

The spirit of democracy which we want to spread throughout India cannot be spread by violence, whether verbal or physical, whether direct indirect or threatened

Commercial bodies can never be democratic

A most democratic Minister* is likely to go wrong without ceaseless watch from the public go/2

A born democrat is a born disciplinarian

DEVOTION

I have a horror of touching-the feet devotion It is wholly unnecessary as a mark of affection, it may easily be degrading It interferes with free and easy movement, and I have been hurt by the nails of the devotees cutting into the flesh The performance has often taken me more than fifteen minutes to pass through a crowd to a platform only a few yards from the farthest end

DIAGNOSIS

A true diagnosis is three fourths the remedy

DIET

Diet is a powerful factor not to be neglected But to sum up all religion in terms of diet, as is often done in India, is as wrong as it is to disregard all restraint in regard to diet and to give full reins to one's appetite

For me the question of diet was not one to be determined on the authority of the *Shastras* It

was one interwoven with my course of life which is guided by principles no longer depending upon outside authority.

The choice of one's diet is not a thing to be based on faith. It is a matter for every one to reason out himself.

Diet reform is a limitless field of research fraught with the greatest consequences for the world and more especially for the famishing millions of India.

DIFFERENCES

Honest differences are often a healthy sign of progress.

It is not our differences that really matter. It is the meanness behind that is ugly.

Our besetting sin is not difference, but our littleness.

If we have no charity and no tolerance, we shall never settle our differences amicably and must therefore always submit to the arbitrament of a third party *i.e.*, to foreign domination.

DIRTY—DIRT

I have no antipathy against dirty people, but I have a horror of dirt. I should not eat out of a dirty plate nor touch a dirty spoon or kerchief. But I believe in removing dirt to its proper place, where it ceases to be dirt.

DISARMAMENT

Real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another

The forcible disarmament of India by the British Government was indeed a grave wrong and cruel injustice

DISCIPLINE

Discipline knows no rank. A king who knows its value submits to his page in matters where he appoints him as the sole judge

We cannot learn discipline by compulsion

Let it not be said that we are a people incapable of maintaining discipline. Indiscipline will mean disaster, make one like me who is pining to see *Swaraj* in his lifetime perish in sorrow and grief

Discipline is to disorder what bulwarks and embankments are to storms and floods

There is no deliverance and no hope without sacrifice, discipline and selfcontrol. Mere sacrifice without discipline will be unavailing

There will have to be rigid and iron discipline before we achieve anything great and enduring

Discipline is learnt in the school of adversity

True discipline gives enthusiastic obedience to instructions even though they do not satisfy reason.

DISCIPLINED—UNDISCIPLINED

A disciplined army of a few hundred picked men has time without number routed countless undisciplined hordes.

DISEASE

A patient can ill afford to conceal his disease. If he does so he becomes his own enemy.

DISOBEDIENCE

Disobedience is a right that belongs to every human being and it becomes a sacred duty when it springs from civility or, which is the same thing, love.

DISTRUST

Distrust involves favouritism and favouritism must breed division.

If the Hindus and Musalmans rid themselves of mutual distrust and fear, there is no power that can stop their freedom.

I see no harm in a wholesome variety. What I would rid ourselves of is distrust of one another and imputation of motives.

DOMINATION

Foreign domination is undoubtedly responsible for many evils, but we need to remember that many pre-existing evils were also a potent cause of that domination. Therefore the mere throwing

off of the foreign yoke, whilst it is as essential as life breath, will never be cure of all

DIVIDE AND RULE

After all the discovery that India is governed by the 'divide and rule' policy was made in the first instance not by an Indian but if I am not mistaken, by an Englishman. It was either the late Allen Octavius Hume or George Yule who taught us that the empire was based upon a policy of divide and rule. Nor need we be surprised at or resent it. Imperial Rome did no otherwise. British did no otherwise with Boers.

Imperial rule means divide *et impera* (and rule). We will continue to be divided so long as the wedge of foreign rule remains there, and sinks deeper and deeper. That is the way of the wedge. But take out the wedge and splitp arts will instantly come together and unite.

I have no doubt that if British rule which divides us by favouring one or the other as it suits the Britishers were withdrawn today, Hindus and Muslims would forget their quarrels and live like brothers which they are. But supposing the worst happened and we have a civil war, it would last for a few days or months and we would settled down to business.

DOUBT

Doubt is invariably the result of want or weakness of faith.

DRINK EVIL.

(In India) addiction to drink is not considered respectable or fashionable and is confined only to a certain class of people.

I hold drink to be more damnable than *thieving and perhaps even prostitution*. Is it not often the parents of both ?

Drugs and drink are the two arms of the devil with which he strikes his helpless slaves into stupefaction and intoxication.

Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the west.

It is a matter of deep humiliation for the country to find its children educated from the drink revenue.

In India there can be no reason for any *referent* dom because drink and drug habits are universally recognised as a vice.

Whatever may be true of countries with cold climates I am sure that in a climate like ours there is no need for drink whatsoever.

Nothing but ruin stares a nation in the face that is a prey to the drink habit.

Drink is more a disease than a vice. I know scores of men who would gladly leave off drink if they could. Diseased persons have got to be helped

against themselves. The drink course has desolated many a labourer's home.

Only those women who have drunkards as their husbands know what havoc the drink devil works in homes that once were orderly and peace-giving.

I hold drinking spirituous liquors in India to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished.

Pure *Swaraj* is impossible, of attainment by people who have been or who are slaves of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It must never be forgotten that a man in the grip of intoxicants is generally bereft of the moral sense.

DUMB MILLIONS

All the 24 hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last, because I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognise His presence, I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.

DUTY

Every duty performed confers upon one certain rights whilst the exercise of every right carries with it certain corresponding obligations.

Duty is a debt.

Out of performance of duties flow rights.

Every neglect of duty on our part hinders.

If we all discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek.

Performance of one's duty should be independent of public opinion.

Every duty performed confers upon one certain rights.

The never ending cycle of duty and right goes ceaselessly on.

Duty well done undoubtedly carries rights with it.

The end is performance of one's allotted duty.

The whole duty of man is to wish well and to do good to others. And as the first step towards discharging it, you should learn to love one another, and share one another's sorrows as well as joys.

Rights accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties.

A man can give up a right, but he may not give up duty without being guilty of a grave dereliction.

Our people have not yet acquired the habit of doing their duty without persistent reminders.

A soldier never worries as to what shall happen to his work after him, but thinks only of the immediate duty in front of him.

Duty well done undoubtedly carries rights with it, but a man who discharges his obligations with an eye upon privileges discharges them indifferently and often fails to attain the rights he might have expected, or when he succeeds in gaining them they turn out to be burdens.

EAST AND WEST

There is no impassable barrier between East and West.

East and West can only really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East has also adopted modern civilization, but that meeting would be an armed truce.

I do not hold for one moment that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West, or West meet East, but I think the social evolution of the West today lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel.

I would heartily welcome the union of East and West provided it is not based on brute-force.

EAT

One should eat not in order to please the palate, but just to keep the body going.

Eat only when you are hungry and when you have laboured for your food.

ECONOMICS

True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth the name must at the same time be also good economics.

An economics that inculcates Mammon worship, and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak is a false and dismal science. It spells death.

True economics.....stands for social justice, it promotes the good of all equally including the weakest, and is indispensable for decent life.

Economic that hurts the moral well-being of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore sinful.

Thus the economics that permits one country to prey upon another is immoral.

Application of the laws of economics must vary with varying conditions.

Indeed, economics that ruins one's health is false, because money without health has no value.

Only that economy is true which enables one to conserve one's health

Imitation of English economics will spell our ruin

That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the highest value

If a religion cuts at the very fundamentals of economics it is not a true religion but only a delusion

Village economics is different from industrial economics Human economics is not the same as that of exploitation or mere dead matter

EDUCATION

If boys and girls do not learn discipline in their school days, money and time spent on their education is so much national loss

All the education young men receive will be in vain if they do not learn good manners

That education alone is of value which draws out the faculties of a student so as to enable him or her to solve correctly the problems of life in every department

Literary education is of no value, if it is not to build up a sound character

Purity of personal life is the one indispensable condition for building up a sound education

In my opinion the existing system of education is defective.

It is a crime to make education merely literary and to unfit boy and girl for manual work in after life.

Education to be universal must be free.

National education to be truly national must reflect the national condition for the time being.

The greatest drawback of the present system of education is that it does not bear the stamp of reality, that the children do not react to the varying wants of the country.

True education must correspond to the surrounding circumstances,

It is an education which, if it has given us a few self-sacrificing patriots, has also produced many more men who have been willing accomplices with the Government in holding India in bondage.

Education should be so revolutionized as to answer the wants of the poorest villager...

I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g., hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose, etc.

Ahimsa in education shines clear and far, and

can no more be hidden, even as the sun cannot be hidden by any means

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The functions of educational institutions is to impart education to the boys and girls who choose to join them, and therethrough to mould their charactor, never to interfere with their political or other non moral activities outside the class room

EFFORT—RESULT

It is for us to make the effort. The result is always in God's hands

In my humble opinion, effort is necessary for one's own growth. It has to be irrespective of results

ELECTORATE

My attempt is to point out that we need an electorate, which is impartial, independent and intelligent. If the electors do not interest themselves in national affairs and remain unconcerned with what goes on in their midst, and if they elect men with whom they have private relations or whose aid they need for themselves, this state of things can do no good to the country, on the contrary, it will be harmful

EMBARRASSMENT

It is contrary to my creed to embarrass Governments or anybody else. This does not however

mean that certain acts of mine may not result in embarrassment. But I should not hold myself responsible for having caused embarrassment when I resist the wrong of a wrong doer by refusing assistance in his wrong doing.

ENGLISH EDUCATION

English education has emasculated us, constrained our intellect, and the manner of imparting this education has rendered us effeminate.

To introduce English education in schools meant for women could only lead to prolong our helplessness. An altogether artificial value is put upon English collegiate education. It covers a multitude of sins.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

English is a language of international commerce; it is the language of diplomacy; and it contains many a rich literary treasure; it gives us an introduction to western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary.

✓ Do you know that the English language would be empty without the Bible? Three parts bible and one part Shakespeare is the description of English language.

The base imitation of the West, the ability to speak and write correct and polished English, will not add one brick to the Temple of Freedom.

As a result of English being the medium of instruction, we have lost originality

a Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage

Our infatuation for English has made us unfaithful to provincial languages

I cannot tolerate the idea of parents writing to their children, or husbands writing to their wives not in their own vernaculars but in English

Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of English is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty and developing accuracy of thought

• Every time that I am obliged to speak in English or its noble literature But the nobility of its literature cannot avail the Indian nation

It has always been my conviction that Indian parents who train their children to think and talk in English from their infancy betray their children and their country

The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English

To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of *Swaraj*

ENGLISHMAN

An Englishman never respects you till you stand up to him

What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother, I would not do to an Englishman.

My personal religion enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishman (or for that matter anybody else).

Englishmen are sportsmen. They have ample sense of humour.

They can hit hard and take beating also in good grace.

My enmity is not against Englishmen, it is against their rule. I seem to be born to be an instrument to compass the end of that rule. But if a hair of an English head was touched I should feel the same grief as I should over such a mishap to my brother. I say to them as a friend, "Why will you not understand that your rule is ruining this country? It has got to be destroyed even though you may pound us to powder or drown us."

The Englishmen have the great vice of depriving a subject nation of its self-respect.

We have grievously erred in accepting English estimates of events in our national life.

There is room for Englishmen as fellow-servants of the people—never as masters.

The average Englishman is haughty, he does not understand us, he considers himself to be a superior being. He thinks that he is born to rule

us He despises us He wants to compel co operation, i e , slavery Even him we have to conquer, not by bending the knee, but remaining aloof from him, but at the same time not hating him nor hurting him At the same time, we must show every attention to those Englishmen who are trying to cure themselves and fellow Englishmen of the disease of race superiority.

As the elephant is powerless to think in the terms of the ant, in spite of the best intentions, in the world, even so is the Englishman powerless to think in the terms of, or legislate for the Indian

EQUAL

In the eyes of God who is the creator of all, His creatures are all equal.

We are all His creatures , and just as in the eyes of parents all their children are absolutely equal, so also in God's eyes all His creatures must be equal

EQUALITY—INEQUALITY

It is wrong, it is sinful, to consider some people lower than ourselves

There will never be real equality so long as one feels inferior or superior to the other.

Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and Man

Classless society is the ideal, not merely to be aimed at but to be worked for

On God's earth nobody is low and nobody is high.

I should treat the daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality.

Nor do I believe in inequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state.

We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realise equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality.

ERROR

An error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation.

To err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive...

Confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

It is best to own the error. It is sure to add to our strength.

Realisation of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it, is enough penance.

There is no defeat in the confession of one's error. The confession itself is victory.

God always saves the world from the consequences of unintended error of men who live in fear of Him

To err, is human, it is noble after discovery to correct the error and determine never to repeat it

To err even grievously, is human. But it is human if there is a determination to mend the error and not to repeat it. The error will be forgotten if the promise is fully redeemed.

I claim to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough to confess my errors and to retrace my steps

Error ceases to be error when it is corrected

EVILS

A man who broods on evil is as bad as a man who does evil, if he is no worse.

It is easier for the average man to run away from evil than to remain in it and still remain unaffected by it.

Of all the evils for which man has made himself responsible, none is so degrading, so shocking or so brutal as his abuse of the better half of humanity to me, the female sex, not the weaker sex

On God's earth nobody is low and nobody is high.

I should treat the daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality.

Nor do I believe in inequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state.

We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realise equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality.

ERROR

An error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation.

To err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive...

Confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

It is best to own the error. It is sure to add to our strength.

Realisation of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it, is enough penance.

There is no defeat in the confession of one's error. The confession itself is victory.

God always saves the world from the consequences of unintended error of men who live in fear of Him.

To err, is human; it is noble after discovery to correct the error and determine never to repeat it.

To err even grievously, is human. But it is human if there is a determination to mend the error and not to repeat it. The error will be forgotten if the promise is fully redeemed.

I claim to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough to confess my errors and to retrace my steps.

Error ceases to be error when it is corrected.

EVILS

A man who broods on evil is as bad as a man who does evil, if he is no worse.

It is easier for the average man to run away from evil than to remain in it and still remain unaffected by it.

Of all the evils for which man has made himself responsible, none is so degrading, so shocking or so brutal as his abuse of the better half of humanity to me, the female sex, not the weaker sex

On God's earth nobody is low and nobody is high.

I should treat the daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality.

Nor do I believe in inequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state.

We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realise equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality.

ERROR

An error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation.

To err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive...

Confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

It is best to own the error. It is sure to add to our strength.

Realisation of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it, is enough penance.

There is no defeat in the confession of one's error. The confession itself is victory.

EXPLOITATION

Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-cooperate with their exploiters. That will convert the exploiters also. I have even suggested that ultimately it will lead to both being equal partners.

FAITH

If you have faith in the cause and in the means, and in God, the hot sun will be cool to you.

Without faith the world would come to naught in a moment.

Faith is a kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the perview of reason.

Faith is like the Himalaya mountains which cannot possibly change.

Work without faith is like an attempt to reach the bottom of a bottomless pit.

Faith is not a delicate flower which would wither under the slightest stormy weather.

An honourable understanding is impossible if faith becomes a valueless article.

Let no one ask what is prayer and who is God. Both prayer and belief in God are supremely acts of faith.

EUROPEAN DRESS

I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which, for its simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements.

EXAGGERATION

A cause can only lose by exaggeration,

EXERCISE

No matter what amount of work one has, one should always find some time for exercise, just as one does for one's meals. It is my humble opinion that far from taking away from one's capacity for work, it adds to it.

EXPEDIENCY

I have a horror of the word expediency because of its bad odour. As a rule expediency is often opposed to morality and does not exclude the use of violence.

EXPERIMENTS

He who would go in for novel experiments must begin with himself. That leads to a quicker discovery of truth and God always protects the honest experimenter.

EXPLOITATION

Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non cooperate with their exploiters That will convert the exploiters also I have even suggested that ultimately it will lead to both being equal partners

FAITH

If you have faith in the cause and in the means, and in God, the hot sun will be cool to you

Without faith the world would come to naught in a moment

Faith is a kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the perview of reason

Faith is like the Himalaya mountains which cannot possibly change

Work without faith is like an attempt to reach the bottom of a bottomless pit

Faith is not a delicate flower which would wither under the slightest stormy weather

An honourable understanding is impossible if faith becomes a valueless article

Let no one ask what is prayer and who is God Both prayer and belief in God are supremely acts of faith

The world does not quarrel with those who have a true faith in God and who understand the true nature of religion. And if it does, such men turn away the wrath of their adversaries by their gentleness.

Faith knows no disappointment.

It is a poor faith that is based on proof commonly called.

It is poor faith that needs fair weather for standing firm.

That alone is true faith that stands the foulest weather.

Indeed one's faith in one's plans and methods is truly tested when the horizon before one is the blackest.

There is no cause for despondency for a man who has faith and reason. Want of faith is the father of an innumerable brood of doubts.

The Hindu thinks that in quarrelling with the Musalman he is benefiting Hinduism, and the Musalman thinks that in fighting a Hindu he is benefitting Islam. But each is ruining his faith.

All fear is a sign of want of faith. But faith cannot be acquired by force of intellect. It comes but slowly after deep meditation and continuous practice.

And a living faith will last in the midst of the blackest storm.

It is faith that steers us through stormy seas, faith that moves mountains and faith that jumps across the ocean. That faith is nothing but a living, wide-awake consciousness of God within. He who has achieved that faith wants nothing.

One's faith has got to be bright and intelligent before it can enkindle faith in others.

Blind...faith can lead to no lasting good.

The greater the difficulties, the greater should be our faith.

A man without faith is like a drop thrown out of the ocean bound to perish.

Faith is the function of the heart.

I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next step He will make clear to me when time for it comes.

That faith is of little value which can flourish only in fair weather. Faith in order to be of any value has to survive the severest trials.

Your faith is a whited sepulchre if it cannot stand against the calumny of the whole world.

The more I live the more I realize how much I owe to faith and prayer which is one and the same thing for me.

Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. It is given through the language of the heart.

If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent.

No one faith is perfect. All faiths are equally dear to their respective votaries. What is wanted therefore is living friendly contact among the followers of the great religions of the world and not a clash among them in the fruitless attempt on the part of each community to show the superiority of its faith over the rest.

FALL

Divided we must fall.

FASTING.

Fasting is an institution as old as Adam.

Fasting is a potent weapon in the *Satyagraha* armoury.

He who fasts in the expectation of fruit generally fails.

It is wrong to fast for selfish ends.

The fast is a most efficacious weapon in the armoury of non-violence.

My fast is a matter between God and myself.

I have no recollection of a single experiment of mine in fasting having been a fruitless effort.

I had the experience of priceless peace and unending joy during all the fasts.

I have come to the conclusion that fasting unless it is the result of God's grace, is useless starvation if not much worse

Fasting and prayer are common injunction in my religion

My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray

All fasting and all penance as far as possible must be secret

Of what use is to force the flesh merely if the spirit refuses to co operate ? You may starve even unto death but if at the same time the mind continues to hanker after objects of the sense, your fast is a sham and a delusion

Fast is the last weapon of a Satyagrahi against loved ones

The physical and moral value of fasting is being more and more recognised day by day

Fast is in my blood and my bones I imbibed it with my mother's milk

My mother fasted if some one was ill in the family, she fasted if she was in pain, she fasted in season and out of season How can I her son do otherwise ?

Fasting can only be resorted to against a lover, not to extort rights but to reform him, as when a son fasts for a father who drinks

FEAR—FEARLESSLY

Fear gone, there can be no hatred.

With God as our commander and infallible guide, where is there cause for any fear ?

My ideal is to be able to play with snakes and scorpions fearlessly.

There is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, Whom we have to fear, and that is God.

When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how highly Placed he may be.

FETTERS

Golden fetters are no less galling to a self respecting man than iron ones. The sting lies in the fetters, not in the metal.

FLAG (NATIONAL)

A flag is a necessity for all nations. Millions have died for it.

It is no doubt a kind of idolatry which it would be a sin to destroy. For a flag represents an ideal. The unfurling of the Union Jack evokes in the English breast sentiments whose strength it is difficult to measure. The Stars and Stripes mean a world to the Americans. The Star and the Crescent will call forth the best bravery in Islam.

I am the author of the flag. It is dear to me as life. But I do not believe in flag waving.

This flag represents unity, non-violence, and identification through the Charkha of the highest with the lowliest in the land. Any insult to the flag must leave a deep scar on an Indian breast.

FLESH FOOD

I do not regard flesh-food as necessary for us at any stage and under any clime in which it is possible for human beings ordinarily to live.

I hold flesh-food to be unsuited to our species. We err in copying the lower animal world if we are superior to it.

FOOD

As a searcher for truth I deem it necessary to find the perfect food for a man to keep body, mind and soul in a sound condition.

The ethical value of uncooked food is incomparable. Economically this food has possibilities which no cooked food can have.

I am sure that most people eat much too much. It is a well established fact that one can derive a much greater nourishment from the same quantity of food if it is masticated well.

To provide nourishing food for the nation is to give it both money and health. It means both health and wealth which, according to Ruskin, are one and the same thing.

The nation requires education as to the food to be taken and the manner in which it has to be prepared.

There is no freedom for India so long as one man, no matter how highly placed he may be, holds in the hollow of his hand the life, property and honour of millions of human beings.

Freedom of a nation cannot be won by solitary acts of heroism even though they may be of the true type.

I would like to see India free and strong so that she may offer herself as a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world.

India free cannot deny freedom to any son of the soil.

I live for India's freedom and would die for it.

If we cannot maintain Hindu-Muslim unity, our newly won freedom will prove a nine days' wonder.

The cell-door is the door to freedom.

Only a free India can worship the true God.

India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

I work for India's freedom because my *Swadeshi* teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve her and *she* has a prior claim to my service.

As I have said often enough I would far rather

that India perished than that she won freedom at the sacrifice of truth.

FRIEND

Friendship presupposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend

It is the special privilege of a friend to own the other's faults and redeclare his affection inspite of faults.

FRIENDSHIP

Friendship can never be a contract.

Adversity is the crucible in which friendship is tested.

The test of friendship is assistance in adversity and that too, unconditional assistance.

Co-operation that needs consideration is a commercial contract and not a friendship.

Friendship cannot be bought with bribery.

Vengeance was not the law of friendship.

A friendship which exacts oneness of opinion and conduct is not friendship

No justice but surrender and nothing but surrender was the law of friendship.

My goal is friendship with the world and I

There is a great deal of truth in the saying that man becomes what he eats. The grosser the food, the grosser the body.

FORGIVENESS

Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong. The weak can never forgive.

Forgiveness is a quality of the soul.

Abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish.

Forgiveness adorns a soldier.

Forgiveness is more manly than punishment.

FREEDOM—FREE

Freedom's battles are not fought without paying a heavy price.

Freedom is always won by a few brave self-sacrificing souls who will stake everything for the sake of honour.

Freedom is like a birth.

I feel that riots will be a welcome relief, if that is the price we have to pay for freedom.

Freedom-loving as it (the British nation) is, it will not be a party to give freedom to a people who will not take it.

Price of freedom is death.

Freedom is never dear at any price It is the breath of life What would a man not pay for living?

My conception for freedom is no narrow conception It is co extensive with the freedom of man in all his majesty

Freedom received through the effort of others, however benevolent cannot be retained when such effort is withdrawn In other words, such freedom is not real freedom

I cannot think of anyone wanting less than freedom for his country if he can get it

My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means

I do not want Britain's humiliation in order to gain India's freedom Such freedom, if it were attainable cannot be manfully retained

Whether we are one or many, we must refuse to purchase freedom at the cost of our self-respect or our cherished convictions

If I want freedom for my country, believe me I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race weak or strong, to the same freedom I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country

There is no freedom for India so long as one man, no matter how highly placed he may be, holds in the hollow of his hand the life, property and honour of millions of human beings.

Freedom of a nation cannot be won by solitary acts of heroism even though they may be of the true type.

I would like to see India free and strong so that she may offer herself as a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world.

India free cannot deny freedom to any son of the soil.

I live for India's freedom and would die for it.

If we cannot maintain Hindu-Muslim unity, our newly won freedom will prove a nine days' wonder.

The cell-door is the door to freedom.

Only a free India can worship the true God.

India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

I work for India's freedom because my *Swadeshi* teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve her and *she* has a prior claim to my service.

As I have said often enough I would far rather

that India perished than that she won freedom at the sacrifice of truth.

FRIEND

Friendship presupposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend.

It is the special privilege of a friend to own the other's faults and redeclare his affection inspite of faults.

FRIENDSHIP

Friendship can never be a contract.

Adversity is the crucible in which friendship is tested.

The test of friendship is assistance in adversity and that too, unconditional assistance.

Co-operation that needs consideration is a commercial contract and not a friendship.

Friendship cannot be bought with bribery.

Vengeance was not the law of friendship.

A friendship which exacts oneness of opinion and conduct is not friendship.

No justice but surrender and nothing but surrender was the law of friendship.

My goal is friendship with the world and I

I have not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the *Gita*.

Let the *Gita* be to you a mine of diamonds, as it has been to me, let it be your constant guide and friend on life's way.

I am a devotee of the *Gita* and a firm believer in the inexorable law of *Karma*.

When I hear *Gita* verses melodiously recited I never grow weary of hearing.

As a *satyagrahi*, I can declare that the *Gita* is ever presenting me with fresh lessons.

Gita is worshipped not by parrot-like recitation but by following its teachings.

A true votary of *Gita* does not know what disappointment is.

The recitation of *Gita* verses will support you in your trials and console you in your distress, even in the darkness of solitary confinement.

I would advise the students to begin their day with an early morning recitation of the *Gita*.

GLORY

Glory lies in the attempt to reach one's goal and not in reaching it.

GOAL

But I know that if we have faith and grit we shall win at every point and reach our goal without

shedding a drop of blood

GODS •

There is no separate species called gods in the universe, but all who have the power of production and will work for the community using that power are gods— labourers no less than the capitalists

GOD

God I know is truth

Truth is God and untruth a denial of Him

God only is our infallible and eternal guide

God is the help of the helpless.

God's existence cannot be, does not need to be, proved

God lets the tyrant dig his own grave only issuing grave warnings at stated intervals

God will hold each of us responsible for his own actions, not for his neighbourers'

God chooses as His instruments the humblest and weakest of His creatures to fulfil Himself

God has a thousand names, or rather He is nameless

God is always the upholder of justice

can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

True friendship is put to test only when one party disregards the obligation of friendship.

Friendship pre-supposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend.

Friendship that insists upon agreement on all matters is not worth the name.

There can be no friendship between the brave and the effeminate.

FUNDS

I have never known a good cause backed by good men ever to have died for want of funds, only we often mistake a bad cause for good and bad men for good and then complain that the cause fails for want of funds.

My experience has taught me that no movement ever stops or languishes for want of funds. This does not mean that any temporal movement can go on without money, but it does mean that wherever it has good men and true at its helm, it is bound to attract to itself the requisite funds.

I have also observed that a movement takes its downward course from the time that it is afflicted with a plethora of funds.

GANDHISM

They might kill me but they cannot kill Gandhism.

If truth can be killed, Gandhism can be killed.

If non violence can be killed, Gandhism can be killed

For what is Gandhism but winning *Swaraj* by means of truth and non-violence ?

Let Gandhism be destroyed if it stands for error

Truth and *Ahimsa* will never be destroyed, but if Gandhism is another name for sectarianism it deserves to be destroyed

I would ask you to give up the name of 'Gandhites' and Gandhism. You may call yourself *ahimsaites*, if you like, but 'Gandhi-ite' is meaningless. Gandhi is an erring mortal, a mixture of good and evil so you cannot go by the name 'Gandhites', *Ahimsa* is no such adulterated one, it is pure gold

* GIRL

A girl who rather than give her living body to a would-be ravisher presents him with her corpse, confounds him and dies a heroine's death. Hers is a stout heart in a frail body

GITA (SHRIMAD CHAGWAD)

Gita is the universal mother

I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago, but this external Mother (*Gita*) has completely filled her space by my side even since

I have not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the *Gita*.

Let the *Gita* be to you a mine of diamonds, as it has been to me, let it be your constant guide and friend on life's way.

I am a devotee of the *Gita* and a firm believer in the inexorable law of *Karma*.

When I hear *Gita* verses melodiously recited I never grow weary of hearing.

As a *satyagrahi*, I can declare that the *Gita* is ever presenting me with fresh lessons.

Gita is worshipped not by parrot-like recitation but by following its teachings.

A true votary of *Gita* does not know what disappointment is.

The recitation of *Gita* verses will support you in your trials and console you in your distress, even in the darkness of solitary confinement.

I would advise the students to begin their day with an early morning recitation of the *Gita*.

GLORY

Glory lies in the attempt to reach one's goal and not in reaching it.

GOAL

But I know that if we have faith and grit we shall win at every point and reach our goal without

shedding a drop of blood.

GODS

There is no separate species called gods in the universe, but all who have the power of production and will work for the community using that power are gods—labourers no less than the capitalists.

GOD

God I know is truth.

Truth is God and untruth a denial of Him.

God only is our infallible and eternal guide.

God is the help of the helpless.

God's existence cannot be, does not need to be, proved.

God lets the tyrant dig his own grave only issuing grave warnings at stated intervals.

God will hold each of us responsible for his own actions, not for his neighbourers.'

God chooses as His instruments the humblest and weakest of His creatures to fulfil Himself.

God has a thousand names, or rather He is nameless.

God is always the upholder of justice.

God is the shield of the non-violent.

God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation.

God is alway the upholder of justice.

Perfection is the exclusive tribute of God.

Man does not and can never know God's law fully.

With men nothing may be possible, for God nothing is impossible.

God keeps an accurate record of all things good and bad. There is no better accountant on earth.

God is fearlessness.

God is the source of Light and Life, and yet He is above and beyond all these.

How can we measure the greatness of God, who is so forgiving, so divine ?

God helps the helpless. not those who believe they can do something.

GOLD

I know that generally speaking it is the experience of the world that possession of gold is inconsistent with the possession of virtue; but though such is the unfortunate experience in the world it is by no means an inexorable law.

We are all but straws in the hands of God.

God is not in Ka'aba or in Kashi He is within every one of us

God is, even though the whole world deny Him

God is witness above and He is just enough to chastise every double dealing

It is the quality of our work which will please God and not quantity

I want to see God face to face

Though we may know him by a thousand names, God is one and the same to us all

If one wishes to work in the fear of God, one should be indifferent about popular praise or blame

God never stores for the morrow

He (God) never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment

It is God's covenant that whoever goes to him in weakness and helplessness, him He will make strong

You may say God Allah or whatever other name you may like, but the moment you trust naught but Him you are strong, all disappointment disappears

I know, too, that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil, even at the cost of life itself

God, to be God must rule the heart and transform it

The *Gita* is there to teach us that we do nothing, that we can do nothing. We are only the instruments of God's will. What is the difference between a watch and a human being? A watch does not work by itself; it is set going by a man. In the same way, we do not move, we do not act by ourselves. The power that moves us is God. Just as a watch stops when its wound up spring has run out, so also when our spring is done, our cart comes to a dead halt. While that freedom cart is still on the move, we feel that a certain freedom of action is granted to us. Let us use that to learn and do the will of the great Carpenter.

God is a searcher of hearts only. If our hearts are pure, we will get full marks even if we stutter in our speech.

Thoughts which turn us away from God, or do not turn us towards Him, constitute impediments in our way.

God makes crooked straight for us and sets things right when they seem to go dead wrong.

The *Allah* of Islam is the same as the God of Christians and *Ishwara* of Hindus.

I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions.

God alone reads our hearts.

God alone is absolutely perfect.

But we limited beings fancy all kinds of things

and impute limitations to God.

God's laws are eternal and unalterable and not separate from God Himself. God makes no distinctions between His worshippers. He accepts the worship of these touchables just as well and as much that of the so-called untouchables provided it comes from the bottom of the heart.

Goonda—Goondaism

Even the *goondas* are part of us and therefore they must be handled gently and sympathetically.

People generally do not take to *goondaism* for the love of it. It is a symptom of a deeper seated disease in the body politic.

The same law should govern our relations with internal *goondaism* that we apply in our relations with *goondaism* in the system of Government. And if we have felt we have the ability to deal with the highly organised *goondaism* in a non-violent manner how much more should we feel the ability to deal with that internal *goondaism* by the same method?

GOVERNMENT

Government is an instrument of service only in so far as it is based upon the will and consent of the people.

Co-operation is a duty only so long as Government protects your honour.

It would be a crime to help a Government which had lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power.

Government contact with the villages ends with the collection of revenue.

A king may die but Government never dies. It lives for ever.

No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

Good government is no substitute for self-government.

It (a government) is an instrument of oppression when it enforces submission at the point of the bayonet. Oppression therefore ceases when people cease to fear the bayonet.

A government that is loyal to the governed commands their loyalty as a matter of course.

In truth a government that is ideal governs the least.

If we impute all our weaknesses to the present government, we shall never shed them.

We get what Government we deserve. When we improve, the Government is also bound to improve.

A government responsible to the people dare not favour one religion over another.

Granth Sahib

I hold *Granth Shaib* in high reverence. Several parts of it have passed into our daily speech. So far as my reading of it goes, it inculcates faith, valour and invincible belief in the ultimate triumph of right and justice.

GRIEF

32134

The grief itself has a selfish touch about it
Guru

I say that it is not within me to be anybody's *Guru*. I have always and will always disclaim this title.

I, who am in search of a spiritual *Guru*, how can I arrogate to myself the title of a *Guru*?

I cannot even think of being anybody's political *Guru* in the sense that I applied the term to the late Mr. Gokhale, for I am but an infant in politics

To be a *Guru* I must be myself flawlessly perfect, which I can never claim to be.

If I had a *Guru*, and I am looking for one, I should surrender myself body and soul to him

But in this age of unbelief a true *Guru* is hard to find. A substitute will be worse than useless, often positively harmful. I must therefore warn all against accepting imperfect ones as *Gurus*. It is better to grope in the dark and wade through a million errors to Truth than to entrust oneself to one who "knows not that he knows not"

Has a man ever learnt swimming by tying a stone to his neck ?

My conception of a *Guru* is perhaps not of the ordinary. Nothing but perfection will satisfy me. I am in search of one who, though in the flesh, is incorruptible and unmoved by passion, free from the pairs of opposites, who is Truth and *Ahimsa* incarnate and who will therefore fear none and be feared by none.

Every one gets the *Guru* he deserves and strives for.

I have called Gokhale my political *Guru*. But in spiritual matters, I am sorry to say, I have not yet found any one to whom I could completely surrender myself and whose opinion I could implicitly and unquestioningly accept as I could accept Gokhale's in politics.

Perhaps I am not yet ripe for a spiritual *Guru* because I believe that the spiritual *Guru* comes to you of himself, in fact seeks you out when you are ready for him.

I believe in the Hindu theory of *Guru* and his importance in spiritual realization.

I think there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine that knowledge is impossible without a *Guru*.

Only a perfect *Gnani* deserves to be enthroned as *Guru*.

There must therefore be ceaseless striving after perfection. For one gets the *Guru* that one deserves.

HABITS

We cannot, in a moment, get rid of habits of a life-time.

HARIJAN

If you have the energy to conceive new ideas, utilize that energy in opening up fresh avenues in your service of *Harijans* and *Bluls*

The *Harijan* cause is like fire. The more *ghce* you put into fire, the more it requires. Those who give to the cause gain, they never lose; and those who do not give, undoubtedly lose. What you gain by giving is merit. What you lose by not giving is yourself.

I want you, sisters, to give as much as you can for *Harijan* use, I want you, above everything else, to root out untouchability from your hearts and serve the *Harijan* boys and girls as you would serve your own children. You should love them as your own relatives, your own brothers and sisters, children of the same Mother India. I have worshipped a woman as the living embodiment of the spirit of service and sacrifice. Man can never be your equal in the spirit of selfless sacrifice with which Nature has endowed you. Woman has a compassionate heart which melts at the sight of suffering. If, then, the sufferings of *Harijans* move you and you give up untouchability and with it the distinctions of high and low, Hinduism will

be purified and Hindu society will take a great stride towards spiritual progress. It will ultimately mean the well-being of the whole of India. And the wonderful purificatory process that one-fifth of the human race will undergo, cannot but have a healthy reaction on the whole of humanity. This movement is fraught with such 'far-reaching results. This is a big movement—perhaps, the biggest going—of self-purification. I expect you to contribute your full share to it.

If you consider *Harijans* untouchables because they perform sanitary service, what mother has not performed such service for her children ?

It is the height of injustice to consider the *Harijans* who are the most useful servants of the society, as untouchables and outcasts.

The only way in which you can expiate this sin of centuries is to befriend the *Harijans*, by going to their quarters, by hugging their children as you do your own, by interesting yourselves in their welfare, by finding out whether they get enough to eat, whether they get pure water to drink, whether they have the fresh light and air that you enjoy as of right.

Every yard of *Khadi* you wear will mean some coppers going into the pockets of the *Harijans* and the poor.

There is too much of evil in us when we consider some persons as lower than ourselves. If we do not get rid of this evil, it will eat us up. There will not be a single Hindu left even to do penance,

and I think we shall well deserve it if such a fate overtakes us. I am going from one end of India to the other just to utter the warning.

You will, therefore, do a great act of virtue if you regard all *Harijans* as blood brothers and sisters.

For men and women belonging to *savarna* Hindu castes have been persecuting *Harijans* now for ages. And if we are just now passing through evil times, I am convinced that our treatment of *Harijans* has not a little to do with it.

I would, therefore, ask you to give a place in your hearts to all *Harijans* around you. Welcome *Harijan* children to your own homes. Go to *Harijan* quarters and look after their children and homes; speak to *Harijan* women as to your own sisters.

The cause of *Harijans* is essentially for the women of India to tackle, and I hope that you, the Hindu women .., will do your duty.

• HARTAL

Hartal is an ancient Indian institution of expressing national sorrow and *hartal* is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings, of expressing national opinion

Hartal forcibly brought about cannot be considered *Satyagrahi hartal*. In anything *Satyagrahi* there should be purity of motive; means and end

Hartal must not be made cheap. It must be used only for rare occasions.

HEALTH

And it is health, which is real wealth, and not pieces of gold and silver.

HELP—HELPER

Where I cannot help, I must resolutely refuse to hinder.

He would be a bad helper who, when hailed to bring a bucketful of water to quench a fire brought it after even the ashes had been removed.

HELPLESS

It is only because we have created a vicious atmosphere of impotence round ourselves that we consider ourselves to be helpless even for the simplest possible things.

HIGH AND LOW

Had he made any distinctions of high and low between man and man, they would have been visible as are the distinctions between, say, an elephant and an ant. But he has endowed all human beings impartially with the same shape and the same natural wants.

Forget altogether that some are high and some are low.

I know that you all believe in God as I do; and God cannot be so cruel and unjust as to make distinctions of high and low between man and man and woman and woman.

On God's earth nobody is low and nobody is high.

HIMALAYAS

In these hills, nature's hospitality eclipses all that man can ever do. The enchanting beauty of the Himalayas, their bracing climate and the soothing green that envelopes you leaves nothing more to be desired. I wonder whether the scenery of these hills and the climate are to be surpassed, if equalled, by any of the beauty spots of the world. After having been for nearly three weeks in the Almora hills, I am more than ever amazed why our people need to go to Europe in search of health

HINDU—HINDUISM

Hindu *Dharma* is a boundless ocean teeming with priceless gems

Hindus if they want unity among different races, must have the courage to trust the minorities.

I want both the Hindus and Muslims to cultivate the cool courage to die without killing.

Hindu-Muslim friendship is not a bargain.

the greatest joy undertake an indefinite fast, as I very nearly did in Delhi, in 1924, if it would melt and change the stony hearts of Hindus and Musalmans.

In my opinion, the ability to go to jail is of far less consequence than ability and the readiness to observe in their fulness the conditions about Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi-Christian Unity, above untouchability and hand-spun *Khadi*.

I claim to be amongst the oldest lovers of Hindu-Muslim Unity and I remain one even today. I have been asking myself why every whole-hearted attempt made by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely fallen from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest enemy of Islam in India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the third power, even without deliberately wishing it, will not allow real unity to take place. Therefore, I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the two communities will come together almost immediately after the British power comes to a final end in India.

HINDUSTANI.

Hindustani, i e., a correct mixture of *Hindi* and *Urdu* is the national language.

I know what treasures I have missed in not knowing *Hindustani* and *Sanskrit*

I believe that *Hindi*, *Hindustani* and *Urdu* are words denoting the same language spoken in the

north by Hindus and Musalmans and written in either *Devnagari* or Persian Script *Hindi* was the name for this language used both by Hindus and Musalmans before the word Urdu came to use. The word *Hindustani* came to be used later (the date unknown to me) to denote the same speech.

HONOUR

What are riches, power and military renown worth if honour becomes sullied ?

Self respect and honour cannot be protected by others

No person loses honour or self respect but by his own consent

No cost is too heavy for the preservation of one's honour especially religious honour

Imprisonments, forfeitures, deportations, death must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before anything else

HUMANITARIANISM

Humanitarianism without knowledge is futile and may even be harmful

Mere learning, mere humanitarianism divorced from actual experience may spell disaster to the cause sought to be espoused

HUMANITY—HUMAN NATURE,

Humanity is not divided into water tight

dreamland.

Quarrels must break out so long as the Hindus continue to be siezed with fear.

Hinduism believes in the oneness not of merely all human life, but in the oneness of all that lives.

If you want to be good Hindus, if you want to worship God, and if you are wise, you will fling the doors of all your temples open to the so-called untouchables.

HINDU—MUSLIM UNITY

Hindu-Muslim unity is my fourth love. But so far as any visible manifestation is concerned, I have owned defeat on that score. Let the public, however, not assume therefrom that I am inactive. If not during my lifetime, I know that after my death both Hindus and Musalmans will bear witness that I had never ceased to yearn after Communal Peace.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is nothing if not a partnership between brave men and women.

This unity among all is no new love with me. I have treasured it, acted up to it from my youth upward Love so deep-seated as it is in me will not be sacrificed even for the realm of the whole word

Every body knows that without unity between *Hindus and Musalmans*, no certain progress can be made by the nation.

Hindu Muslim Unity consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal, and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration.

Divided, we must ever remain slaves. This unity, therefore, cannot be a mere policy to be discarded when it does not suit us. We can discard it only when we are tired of *Swaraaj*.

Hindu Muslim Unity must be our creed to last for all time and under all circumstances.

Nor must that (Hindu-Muslim) unity be a menace to the minorities—the Parsees, the Christians, the Jews or the powerful Sikhs. If we seek to crush any of them we shall some day want to fight each other.

That unity is strength, which is not merely a copybook maxim but a rule of life, which is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India, so long as Hindus and Musalmans are ready to cut each other's throats.

Hindu Muslim Unity means not unity only between Hindus and Musalmans but between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong.

If it (Hindu-Muslim Unity) could be achieved by giving my life, I have the will to give it and I hope I have the strength for it. I should with

the greatest joy undertake an indefinite fast, as I very nearly did in Delhi, in 1924, if it would melt and change the stony hearts of Hindus and Musalmans.

In my opinion, the ability to go to jail is of far less consequence than ability and the readiness to observe in their fulness the conditions about Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi Christian Unity, above untouchability and hand-spun *Khadī*.

I claim to be amongst the oldest lovers of Hindu-Muslim Unity and I remain one even today. I have been asking myself why every whole-hearted attempt made by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely fallen from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest enemy of Islam in India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the third power, even without deliberately wishing it, will not allow real unity to take place. Therefore, I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the two communities will come together almost immediately after the British power comes to a final end in India.

HINDUSTANI.

Hindustani, i e., a correct 'mixture of Hindi and Urdu is the national language.

I know what treasures I have missed in not knowing *Hindustani* and *Sanskrit*

I believe that *Hindi*, *Hindustani* and *Urdu* are words denoting the same language spoken in the

north by Hindus and Musalmans and written in either *Devnagari* or Persian Script *Hindi* was the name for this language used both by Hindus and Musalmans before the word Urdu came to used. The word *Hindustani* came to be used later (the date unknown to me) to denote the same speech.

HONOUR

What are riches, power and military renown worth if honour becomes sullied ?

Self respect and honour cannot be protected by others

No person loses honour or self-respect but by his own consent

No cost is too heavy for the preservation of one's honour especially religious honour

Imprisonments, forfeitures, deportations, death must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before anything else

HUMANITARIANISM

Humanitarianism without knowledge is futile and may even be harmful

Mere learning mere humanitarianism divorced from actual experience may spell disaster to the cause sought to be espoused

HUMANITY—HUMAN NATURE :

Humanity is not divided into water tight

compartments—so that we can go from one to another.

There can be no home for humanity if this senseless, fierce mutual manslaughter is to continue.

In trying to serve India, I serve humanity at large.

For me patriotism is the same as humanity.

To attempt to crush the spirit of a brave and gallant race because it has lost in the fortunes of war, is a triumph not of humanity but a demonstration of inhumanity.

I know that people who voluntarily undergo a course of suffering raise themselves and the whole of humanity.

It cannot be a matter of pleasure to me or to any one else to see human nature dragged in the mire.

I refuse to believe that the tendency of human nature is always downward.

I can neither serve God nor humanity, if as an Indian I do not serve India and as a Hindu I do not serve the Indian Musalmans.

I believe in absolute oneness of God and therefore also humanity.

Human nature in India has advanced so far that the doctrine of non-violence is more natural for the people at large than that of violence.

✓ If the beasts had intelligent speech at their command, they would state a case against man that would stagger humanity.

It is an arrogant assumption to say that human beings are lords and masters of the lower creation.

Men like me cling to their faith in human nature and expect to bend even the haughty English spirit, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

I believe in the perfectibility of human nature.

I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity.

If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity.

A man must arrange his physical and cultural circumstances so that they do not hinder him in his service of humanity, on which all his energies should be concentrated.

You must never despair of human nature.

Human nature will only find itself when it fully realises that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal.

My belief in the capacity of non-violence rejects the theory of permanent inelasticity of human nature.

The first condition of humanness is a little humanity and a little diffidence about the correctness of one's conduct and a little receptiveness.

I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man, and believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I live in the hope that if not in this birth, in some other birth, I shall be able to hug all humanity in friendly embrace.

HUMILITY

Humility cannot be an observance by itself... But although humility is not one of the observances, it is certainly as essential as, and perhaps even more essential, than any one of them.

A life of service must be one of humility.

True humility means most strenuous and constant endeavour entirely directed towards the service of humanity.

HUMOUR

If I had no sense of humour, I would long ago have committed suicide.

HUNGER-STRIKE

There should be no hunger-strike on any account. *Though there are circumstances conceivable in which a hunger-strike may be justified,*

hunger-strike in order to secure release or redress of grievances is wrong

Hunger strike has positively become a plague. On the slightest pretext people want to resort to hunger-strike

A hunger-strike loses its force and dignity, when it has any, if the striker is forcibly fed. It becomes a mockery if somehow or other sufficient nourishment is poured down the throat, whether through the mouth or nose

HUSBAND—WIFE

Hindu culture has erred on the side of excessive subordination of the wife to the husband, and has insisted on the complete merging of the wife in the husband

This has resulted in the husband sometimes usurping and exercising authority that reduces him to the level of the brute

My ideal of a wife is Sita and of a husband Rama. But Sita was no slave of Rama. Or, each was slave of the other

Whilst both are fundamentally one, it is also equally true, that in the form there is a vital difference between the two

Men and women both are a mixture of the brute and the divine

Between husband and wife there should be no secrets from one another

I hold that husband and wife merge in each other. They are one in two or two in one.

A wife is not bound to be an accomplice in her husband's crime.

It is more necessary for a husband to draw closer to his wife when she is about to fall.

When one partner breaks the law of discipline, the right accrues to the other of breaking the bond.

Lustless love between husband and wife is not impossible.

I must declare with all the power I can command that sensual attraction even between husband and wife is unnatural.

IDEAL

The virtue of an ideal consists in its boundlessness.

Ideals must work in practice, otherwise they are not potent.

The ideal will cease to be one if it becomes possible to realise it.

When a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible.

The faith in one's ideals above constitutes true life, in fact it is man's all in all.

The reality is always present before me, but my striving is always to reach the ideal

Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants

Classless society is the ideal, not merely to be aimed at but to be worked for

IDLENESS

Purity of mind and idleness are incompatible

IDOL-WORSHIP—IDOLATORY—IDOLATOR

I do not disbelieve in idol worship An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me But I think that idol worship is part of human nature

I do not consider idol worship a sin

I am both an idolator and an iconoclast in what I conceive to be the true sense of the terms I value the spirit behind idol worship It plays a most important part in the uplift of the human race

Idolatory is permissible in Hinduism when it subserves an ideal It becomes a sinful fetish when the idol itself becomes the ideal

Idolatory is bad, not is idol worship.

An idolator makes a fetish of his idol

An idol-worshipper sees God even in a stone and therefore takes the help of an idol to establish his union with God.

IMITATION

Imitation is the sincerest flattery.

IMPOTENCE

It is because we have created a vicious atmosphere of impotence round us that we consider ourselves to be helpless even for the simplest possible things.

IMPRISONMENT

Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us.

Under an unjust Government, imprisonment of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions.

There is no warrant for supposing that we can steal *Swaraj* by the imprisonment of thousands of nominally non-violent men with hatred, ill-will and violence raging in their breasts.

IMPURE THOUGHTS

Complete extinction of impure thought is impossible without ceaseless penance. There is only one way to achieve this. The moment an impure thought arises, confront it with a pure one. This is possible only with God's grace and God's grace comes through ceaseless communion with Him and complete self-surrender.

The mind may wander, but let not the senses wander with it. If the senses wander where the mind takes them, one is done for. But he who keeps control of the physical senses will some day be able to bring impure thoughts under control.

INDIA

India has never waged war against any nation.

India's freedom must revolutionize the world's outlook upon peace and war.

I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit.

India's past training for ages, I mean the training of the masses, has been against violence. India's freedom as is conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before.

India lives in its seven hundred and fifty thousand villages.

Free India will have no enemy.

I cling to India like a child to its mother's breast because I feel that she gives me the spiritual nourishment that I need.

With the loss of India to non violence, the last hope of the world will be gone.

If one can divide a living body into two parts, you may divide India into two parts.

'An India prostrate' at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity.

I do not want India to rise on the ruins of other nations.

In protecting the honour of India, we are protecting the honour of humanity.

An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to give to a groaning world.

India must learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity.

I would not make India sober at the point of the sword.

Everything in India attracts me. It has everything that a human being with the highest possible aspirations can want.

India is essentially *Karmabhumi* (कर्मभूमि=land of duty) in contradistinction to *Bhogabhumi* (भोगभूमि=land of enjoyment).

India's destiny lies not along the bloody way of the West, of which it shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life.

As it is everything in India attracts me.

India of the near future stands for the perfect toleration of all religions.

Her (India's) spiritual heritage is simple living and high thinking.

Will a purified India ever need to draw the sword ?

India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years.

India whose chief disease is her political servitude recognises only those who are fighting publicly to remove it by giving battle to a bureaucracy that has protected itself with a treble line of entrenchment—army and navy, money and diplomacy.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION

The true Indian civilization is in the Indian village.

The modern city civilization you find in Europe and America, and in a handful of our cities which are copies of the Western cities and which were built for the foreigner, and by him.

It is only the handicraft civilization that will endure and stand the test of time.

INDIAN COSTUME

Had it not been for a false pride and equally

false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long ago have adopted the Indian costume.

INDIAN CROWD

An Indian crowd is the most manageable and docile in the world. But it needs previous preparation. But when we have not had it, it is the wisest thing not to bring together crowds.

INDIAN STATES

The Imperial power has used them (States) as pawns in the game of exploitation.

They (States) are least able to resist the illegitimate and insidious pressure that is brought to bear upon them from time to time. They must therefore realise that the increase of people's power means decrease of the humiliating influence described by me.

If the States persist in their obstinacy and hug their ignorance of the awakening that has taken place throughout India, they are courting certain destruction.

I claim to be a friend of the States.

All the States may not live. The biggest ones can live only if they will recognise their limitations, become servants of their people, trustees of their welfare and depend for their existence not on arms, whether their own or British, but solely on the goodwill of their people. Faithlessness will.

feed the fire of violence that one feels smouldering everywhere. If the States are badly advised and they rely upon organised violence for resisting the just demands of their people, *ahimsa* so far generated in the country as a means of redressing social injustice, will not protect them.

Congress non intervention in the affairs of the States was conceived in 1920 and has been more or less its policy since that time inspite of many on slaughts made on it. The policy of non intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice where there is an all-round awakening among the people of the States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene.

The guarantee of their (States') status consists not in the treaties with the British but in the goodwill, contentment and co operation of their own people and the friendship of non State India.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society.

No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom.

INNER VOICE

The Inner Voice may mean a message from God or from the Devil, for both are wrestling in the human breasts. Acts determine the nature of the Voice.

This ability to hear and obey that Voice gives me whatever power I may have and has enabled me to render some little service to the country. You will not have me at this time of my life to change my course and listen to any other voice but the Inner.

INSANITATION—SANITATION—SANITARY

During my wanderings nothing has been so painful to me as to observe our insanitation throughout the length and breadth of the land.

I do not believe in the use of force for carrying out reforms, but when I think of the time that must elapse before the ingrained habits of millions of people can be changed, I almost reconcile myself to compulsion in this the most important matter of insanitation.

Several diseases can be directly traced to insanitation. Hookworm, for instance, is such a direct result. Not a single human being who observes the elementary principles of sanitation need not suffer from hookworm. The disease is not even due to poverty. The only reason is gross ignorance of the first principles of sanitation.

It is a superstition to consider that vast sums

of money are required for effecting sanitary reform. We must modify Western methods of sanitation to suit our requirements.

Indeed sanitary work must be regarded as the foundation of all voluntary training. e

Europeans have deduced an elaborate code of sanitation from the principles laid down in these books (Manu and Quran). Let us learn these from them and adopt them to our needs and habits. How I would love to see not ornamental but useful sanitary associations whose members will deem it a privilege to take up the broom, the shovel and the bucket. Here is a great, national work for school boys, school girls and collegiates all over India.

INSTINCT

My instinct has not betrayed me even once.

INSTRUMENTS

We are merely the instruments of the Almighty's will and are therefore ignorant of what helps us forward and what acts as an impediment.

INSTITUTION

I remain loyal to an institution so long as that institution conduces to my growth, to the growth of the nation. Immediately I find that the institution instead of conducing to its growth impedes it, I hold it to be my bounden duty to be disloyal to it

Everyone joining an institution owes it to obey the rules framed by the management from time to time.

But as I have so often pointed out laws are made by institutions for self-preservation, not for suicide. When, therefore, they hamper their growth they are worse than useless, and must be set aside.

INSURANCE

I did insure my life in 1901 and a short time after I gave up the policy because I felt that I was distrusting God and making my relatives in whose behalf the policy was taken dependent upon me or the money I might leave them rather than upon God and themselves. The opinion arrived at when I gave up the policy has been confirmed by subsequent experience.

INTELLECT

There are no two opinions about the fact that intellect rather than riches will lead.

INTENTIONS

Before the throne of the Almighty, man will be judged not by his acts but by his intentions.

He (God) knowing the intention as much as the act judges the act according to the intention.

INTER-DEPENDENCE

Inter-dependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency.

INTER-DINING

Inter-drinking, inter-dining, inter marrying, I hold, are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy. I do not contemplate, under a most democratic constitution, universality of manners and customs about eating, drinking and marrying. We shall ever have to seek unity in diversity and I decline to consider it a sin for a man not to drink or eat with any and every body.

But as time goes forward, and new necessities and occasions arise, the custom regarding inter-drinking, inter-dining, and inter-marrying, will require cautious modifications or rearrangements.

This question of inter-dining is a vexed one and in my opinion no hard and fast rules can be laid down. Personally, I am not sure that inter-dining is a necessary reform.

I do not regard it as a sin for a person not to dine with another nor do I regard it as sinful if one advocates and practises inter-dining.

Inter-dining and inter-caste marriage are in no way essential for the promotion of the spirit of brotherhood or for the removal of untouchability.

Restrictions on inter-dining have no vital connection with *Varna Dharma*. They were, in my opinion, hygienic rules in origin. Given a proper confirmation with the rules of cleanliness there should be no scruple about dining with anybody.

IRRESOLUTE

One never can achieve anything lasting in this world by being irresolute.

ISLAM

The sword is no emblem of *Islam*.

If I understand the spirit of *Islam* properly, it is essentially republican in the truest sense of the term.

The very word *Islam* means peace which is non-violence.

Islam would cease to be a world religion if it were to rely upon force for its propagation.

I feel about the honour of *Islam* as much as I feel about my own religion.

Islam is not a denial of God. It is a passionate avowal of one Supreme Deity.

Islam is a noble faith.

I do regard *Islam* to be a religion of peace in the same sense as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism are.

Not even its worst detractors have accused *Islam* of atheism.

I certainly regard *Islam* as one of the inspired religions.

JAILS

Jails are no gate-way to liberty for the

confirmed criminal.

They (Jails) are temples of liberty only for those who are innocence personified.

Mere fillings of the jails would not bring India freedom.

JESUS CHRIST

I have regarded Jesus of Nazareth as one amongst the mighty teachers that the world has had.

I regard Jesus as a great teacher of humanity.

I can say that Jesus occupies in my heart the place of one of the great teachers who have made a considerable influence on my life.

Jesus is as divine as Krishna or Rama or Mohamed or Zoroaster.

The message of Jesus, as I understand it, is contained in his Sermon on the Mount unadulterated.....

JEWELLERY, JEWELS

The name of women like Sita and Damyanti have become sacred to us for their unsullied virtue, never for their jewellery, if they wore any.

In this country of semi-starvation and insufficient nutrition of practically eight per cent of the people, the wearing of jewellery is an offence to the eye.

Surely, it is easy enough to understand that so long as there are millions of men and women in the country starving for want of food because of want of work, the sisters have no warrant for possessing costly jewels for adorning their bodies, or often for the mere satisfaction of possessing them.

JOURNALISM

I have taken up journalism not for its own sake but merely as an aid to what I have conceived to be my mission in life.

In the very first month of *Indian Opinion*, I realized that the sole aim of journalism should be service.

JOY

Joy comes not out of infliction of pain on others but out of pain voluntarily borne by ourself.

JUDGE

Do not judge others. Be your own judge and you will be truly happy. If you will try to judge others, you are likely to burn your fingers.

JUDGEMENT

I have repeatedly observed that no school of thought can claim a monopoly of right judgement

We are all liable to err and are often obliged to revise our judgements.

JUSTICE

Justice that love gives is a surrender, justice

that law gives is a punishment.

Justice is like a debt which has to be discharged.

Justice without generosity may easily become Shylock's justice.

"Might is right" is the last word of "justice and nothing but justice".

If we will cease to be slaves we must cease to rely for protection upon the British bayonet or the slippery justice of law courts.

All the world over a true peace depends not upon gun-powder but upon pure justice.

I have said enough in these columns (*Young India*) to show that justice is unobtainable in the so-called courts of justice in India.

Today it (justice) is the luxury of the rich and the joy of the gambler.

My experience has shown me that we win justice quickest by rendering justice to the other party.

KARMA (THE LAW OF)

I firmly believe in the Law of *Karma*, but I believe too in human endeavour. I regard as the *summum bonum* of life the attainment of salvation through *Karma* by annihilating its effects by detachment. If it is a violation of the law of *Karma* to cut short the agony of an ailing animal

by putting an end to its life, it is no less to minister to the sick or try to nurse them back to life. And yet if a man were to refuse to give medicine to a patient or to nurse him on the ground of *Karmā*, we would hold him to be guilty of inhumanity and *himsa*.

The Law of *Karma* is inexorable and impossible of evasion.

If I went about with that philosophical conception of *Karma* I should often come a cropper. My *Karma* would not come to my help.

Although I believe in the inexorable Law of *Karma* I am striving to do so many things, every moment of my life is a strenuous endeavour, which is an attempt to build up more *Karma* to undo the past and add to the present. The past would be soon exhausted and I have to build up the future with prayer.

I tell you *Karma* alone is powerless.

KHADDAR

Swadeshi is a theoretical term. *Khaddar* is the concrete and central fact of *Swadeshi*.

Swadeshi without *Khaddar* is like the body without life, fit only to receive a decent burial or cremation.

The only *Swadeshi* cloth is *Khaddar*.

If one is to interpret *Swadeshi* in the language of and in terms of the millions of this country,

Khaddar is a substantial thing in *Swadeshi* like the air we breathe.

But in the manufacture of *Khaddar* millions can take part.

With *Khaddar*, in my opinion, is bound up the welfare of millions of human beings.

Khaddar is therefore the largest part of *Swadeshi* and it is the only demonstration of it. All else follows from it.

India can live, even if we do not use brass buttons or tooth-picks made in India. But India cannot live if we refuse to manufacture and wear *Khaddar*.

Khaddar will cease to have its paramount importance when a more profitable employment is discovered for the idle hours of India's millions.

I deny that any *Khaddar* is ugly. Want of the dead-sameness of a machine-made article is not a sign of ugliness, it is a sign of life, even as absence of sameness in the millions of leaves of a tree is no sign of its ugliness.

And, why should the cost of *Khaddar*, good or bad, worry us if every penny we pay for it goes directly into the pockets of the starving millions ?

Though *Khaddar* may be dearer per yard than the same quality of Manchester calico, the rejection of [superfluous clothing more than balances the extra cost.

Khaddar delivers the poor from the bonds of the rich and creates a moral and spiritual bond between the classes and the masses. It restores to the poor somewhat of what the rich have taken from them.

Khaddar economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor. The former wholly concerns itself with the human. The latter is frankly selfish, the former necessarily unselfish. Competition and therefore prices are eliminated from the conception of *Khaddar*.

KISANS

The way to make the *Kisans* happy and prosperous is to educate them to know the reason of their present condition and how to mend it. We may show them the non-violent way or the violent. The latter may look tempting, but it is the way to perdition in the long run.

LABOUR

No labour, no meal.

..... We do not know the dignity of labour as such.

... No labour is too mean for one who wants to earn an honest penny. Labour is a prominent feature of the *Ashram*, because it is our duty to

engage ourselves in physical work. One who avoids such work lives as a thief.

LANGUAGE

No language can spread through mere propaganda.

Only that language which the people of a country will themselves adopt can become national.

All attempts at having a forced language have proved futile.

A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its people

Every language is capable of infinite expansion.

A language becomes what its speakers and writers make it.....In other words, a language is a human creation and takes the colour of its creators.

A language that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristics will be enriched even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings.

In one respect all languages are incomplete. Man's reason is limited and language fails him when he begins to talk of God and eternity.

The ordinary rule regarding language is that a language takes shape in accordance with the thoughts of its wielders. If they are sensible, their language is full of sense, and it becomes nonsense when foolish people speak it.

There is an English proverb. "A bad carpenter quarrels with his tools." Those who quarrel with a language are often like the bad carpenter.

There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or of expressing abstruse or scientific ideas.

LAW

[People seem to think that when a law is passed against any evil, it will die without any further effort. There never was a grosser self-deception.

Once a law is enacted, many difficulties must be encountered before it can be reversed.

It is only when public opinion is highly educated that the laws in force in a country can be repealed.

A constitution under which laws are modified or repealed every now and then cannot be said to be stable or well-organized.]

I have found that it is our first duty to render voluntary obedience to law, but whilst doing that duty I have also seen that when law fosters untruth it becomes a duty to disobey it.

Submission to the state law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty.

LAWYERS

In England, in South Africa, almost every-

where I have found that in the practice of their profession lawyers are consciously or unconsciously led into untruth for the sake of their clients

An eminent English lawyer has gone so far as to say that it may even be the duty of a lawyer to defend a client whom he knows to be guilty There I disagree

The duty of a lawyer is always to place before the judges and to help them to arrive at the truth, never to prove the guilty as innocent

A true lawyer is one who places truth and service in the first place and the emoluments of the profession in the next place only

LAW COURTS

Truly speaking I am in no love with fighting in law courts Victory there does not depend on the truth of your case

I have not a shadow of doubt that society will be much cleaner and healthier if there was less resort to law courts than there is

If we are not under the spell of lawyers and law courts and if there were no touts to tempt us into the quagmire of the courts and to appeal to our basest passions, we would be leading a much happier life than we do today.

Let those who frequent the law courts—the best of them—bear witness to the fact that the

atmosphere about them is foetial.

LEADERS—LEAD

Courage, endurance, fearlessness and above all—self-sacrifice are the qualities required of our leaders.

All cannot become leaders, but all can be bearers.

In well-ordered organisations leaders are elected for convenience of work, not for extraordinary merit.

A leader is only first among equals.

A leader is useless when he acts against the promptings of his own conscience.

The acts of men who have come out to serve or lead have always been misunderstood since the beginning of the world and none can help it.

To put up these misrepresentations and to stick to one's guns come what might—this is the essence of the gift of leadership.

LIBERTY

[Liberty is a dame exacting heavy price from its wooers.

My individual liberty is the same as the nation's convertible with national liberty.]

The English have paid dearly for their freedom such as it is. They, therefore, only respect those who are prepared to pay an adequate price for their own liberty.

[Liberty is a jilt most difficult to woo and please.

We dare not enter the kingdom of liberty or learning with mere lip-homage to Truth and Non-violence.

Death in the fight is a deliverance, and prison, a gateway to liberty.]

If you want to claim unrestricted and absolute liberty for yourselves, you must choose to retire from society and take to solitude.

To deprive a man of his natural liberty and to deny to him the ordinary amenities of life is worse than starving the body.

Where a choice has to be made between liberty and learning, who will not say that the former has to be preferred a thousand times to the latter?

I am a lover of my own liberty and so I would do nothing to restrict yours.

LIFE

Life is but an endless series of experiment.

Life without love is death.

There only is life where there is love.

Life is perpetual triumph over the grave.

Life is one indivisible whole.

Life for me would be a burden, if I were to make it a point of controverting every false report about me or distortion of my writing.

To enjoy life one should give up the lure of life.

I am not aware of having done a single thing in my life as a matter of experience.

My life is made up of compromises, but they have been compromises that have brought me nearer the goal.

The main purpose of life is to live rightly, think rightly, act rightly: the soul must languish when we give all our thoughts to the body.

Life itself involves some kind of violence and we have to choose the path of least violence.

Every movement of our life should be filled with mental or physical activity. But that activity should be *sattvika* (सात्त्विक), tending to truth.

One who has consecrated his life to service cannot be idle for a single moment.

Follow whatever commends itself to you in my life.

LITERARY EDUCATION

Literary education is intended only to quicken

our spirit of service.

Rest assured that literary education is no good without character.

LOVE

Love never claims, it ever gives.

Love ever suffers, never resents, never revenges itself.

Love does not act through fear.

Love is the strongest force which the world possesses and yet it is the humblest imaginable.

True love is self-effacing and demands no consideration.

Hatred can be overcome only by love.

Love becomes lust the moment you make it a means for the satisfaction of animal needs.

Wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love.

A coward is incapable of exhibiting love; it is the prerogative of the brave.

What barrier is there that love cannot break?

The only way love punishes is by suffering.

Love never dies.

The test of love is *tapasaya* and *tapasya* is

self-suffering.

True love is boundless like the ocean and rising and swelling within one spreading itself out and crossing all boundaries and frontiers envelopes the whole world.

Hatred ever kills. Love never dies. Such is the vast difference between the two. ,

Love quenches anger.

Love is needed to strengthen the weak.

It is perfectly true, I must admit it in all humility, that however indifferently it may be, I endeavour to represent love in every fibre of my being.

Love is the subtlest force in the world.

The Law of Love, call it attraction, affinity, cohesion, if you like, governs the world.

It is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth.

There only is life where there is love.

Life without love is death.

Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth.

Love conquers hate.

It is my firm faith and it is my experience of forty years that we can conquer the world by truth and love.

Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me.

A love that is based on the goodness of those whom you love is a mercenary affair, whereas, true love is self-suffering and demands no consideration.

It may be long before the Law will be recognised in international affairs. The machineries of governments stand between and hide the hearts of one people from those of another.

I am quite conscious of the fact that blind surrender to love is often more mischievous than a forced surrender to the lash of the tyrant.

There is hope for the slave of the brute, none for that of love.

Love becomes tyrannical when it exacts obedience from an unbeliever.

Love transcends all animality and is never partial.

A seeker after truth, a follower of the Law of love cannot hold anything against tomorrow.

Love is the supreme and only love of life.

I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the Law of love

The present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few, in total disregard of millions of men and women whose bread is snatched by it out of their mouths.

MAHABHARTA

The MAHABHARTA depicts for all time the eternal struggle that goes on daily between the forces of good and evil in the human breast.

I have maintained in the teeth of orthodox Hindu opposition that the MAHABHARATA is a book written to establish the futility of war and violence.

MAHATMASHIP—MAHATMA

Thank God, my much vaunted *Mahatma* ship has never fooled me.

I do not feel like being one (*Mahatma*). But I do know that I am among the humblest of God's creatures.

Not being acquainted with one (*Mahatma*) I cannot give any definition.

Though a non-co-operator I shall gladly subscribe to a bill to make it criminal for anybody to call me *Mahatma* and to touch my feet. Where I can impose the law myself, *i.e.*, at the *Ashram*, the practice is criminal.

MAJORITY

[In matters of conscience, the law of majority has no place.]

It is slavery to be amenable to the majority, no matter what its decisions are.

It is a superstition and an ungodly thing to believe that an act of majority binds a minority.

A living faith cannot be manufactured by majority.

Corruption is the bane of governments by majority.

The rule of majority is perfectly sound, only when there is no rigid insistence on the part of the dissenters upon their dissent and when there is on their behalf a sportsmanlike obedience to the opinion of the majority.

When there is complete freedom of opinion, that of the majority must prevail.

It will be the duty of the majority to see to it that minorities receive proper hearing and are not otherwise exposed to insults.

Swaraj will be an absurdity if individuals have to surrender their judgement to majority.

MAN

Man as animal is violent but as spirit, is non-violent.

Man does not live by destruction.

Man is neither mere intellect nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone.

I am striving to become the best cement between the two communities. My longing is to be able to cement the two with my blood, if necessary. But before I can do so, I must prove to the Musalmans that I love them as well as I love the Hindus. My religion teaches me to love all equally. May God help me to do so !

Love that is satisfied with touching the feet of the hero and making noise at him is likely to become parasitical. Such love ceases to be a virtue and after a time becomes a positive indulgence and therefore a vice.

LUST

Woman must cease to consider herself the object of man's lust.

The conquest of lust is the highest endeavour of a man's or woman's existence.

Without overcoming lust, man cannot hope to rule over self.

And God's grace never descends upon a man who is a slave to lust.

All of us men must hang our heads in shame, so long as there is a single woman whom we dedicate to our lust.

I will far rather see the race of man extinct than that we should become less than beasts by making the noblest of God's creation (woman) the object of our lust.

But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter.

It is the matter of bitter shame and sorrow, of deep humiliation, that a number of women have to sell their chastity for man's lust. Man, the law-giver, will have to pay a dreadful penalty for the degradation he has imposed upon the so-called weaker sex.

MACHINERY

Machinery has its place ; it has come to stay

I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery, but limitation.

What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such.

Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions.

Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes.

Machinery to be well used has to help and ease human beings.

Dead machinery should not be pitted against the living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India.

Mechanization is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil where there are more hands than required for the work as is the case in India.

I regard ill-will as beneath the dignity of man.

Man is born to live in the midst of dangers and alarms.

Man's upward progress means ever-increasing difficulty which is to be welcomed.

I have discovered that man is superior to the system he propounds.

Man has to thank himself for his dependence.

Mankind is one, seeing that all are subject to the moral law.

Man has always desired power.

Man hankers after posthumous fame based on power.

Progress is man's distinction, man's alone, not beast's.

A man in the grip of the sensual desire is a man without moorings.

Man is not a brute. He has risen to a higher state after countless births in brute creation. He is born to stand, not to walk on all fours or crawl. Bestiality is as far removed from manhood as matter from spirit.

Man is not all body but he is something infinitely higher.

Man is a special creation of God precisely to the extent that he is distinct from the rest of His creation

Man has reason, discrimination and free will such as it is The brute has no such thing

Man does not live by bread alone, as the brute does

He (Man) uses his reason to worship God and to know Him and regards the attainment of that knowledge as the *summum bonum* of that life

It is not man's duty to develop *all* his faculties to perfection, his duty is to develop *all* his God-ward faculties to perfection and to suppress completely those of contrary tendencies

All men are imperfect, and when imperfection is observed in some one in a larger measure than in others, people are apt to blame him But that is not fair

Man can change his temperament, can control it but cannot eradicate it God has not given him so much liberty If the leopard can change his spots then only can man modify the peculiarities of his spiritual constitution

I have found by experience that man makes his plans to be often upset by God, but, at the same time where the ultimate goal is the search of truth, no matter how a man's plans are frustrated the issue is never injurious and often better than anticipated

Of all the animal creation of God, man is the only animal who has been created in order that he may know his Maker. Man's aim in life is not therefore to add from day to day his material prospects and to his material possessions but his predominant calling is from day to day to come his own nearer Maker.

Man is undoubtedly an artist and creator.

Man... .. when he follows his higher nature, shows himself far superior to the brute, but when he follows his baser nature can show himself lesser than the brute.

Man's destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place.

It is man's special privilege and pride to be gifted with the faculties of head and heart both.

All the sages have declared from the housetops that the man can be his own worst enemy as well his best friend. To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands.

Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service.

MANLINESS

Manliness consists not in bluff, bravado or lordliness. It consists in daring to do the right and

facing consequences, whether it is in matters social, political or other.

It (Manliness) consists in deeds, not in words.

Manliness consists in making cricumstances subserve to ourselves.

MANNERS

After all, manners and methods change with the times We must grow with our years. What was good enough for our babyhood cannot be good enough for manhood.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage must cease to be a matter of arrangement made by parents for money.

Marriage is a sacrament and ought not to carry any expenditure with it.

Lust has come to play the most important part in marriage.

Any young man who makes dowry a condition of marriage, discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood.

The parents should so educate their daughters that they would refuse to marry a young man who wanted a price for marrying.

Marriage is nothing but restraint

Marriage brings a woman closer together with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come.

Marriage is a fence that protects religion. If the fence were to be destroyed, religion would go to pieces.

You are being united in marriage as friends and equals. If the husband is called *Swami*, the wife is *Swamini*—each master of the other, each helpmate of the other, each co-operating with the other in the performance of life's tasks and duties. To you, boys, I would say that if you are with better intellects and richer emotions, infect the girls with them. Be their true teachers and guides, help them and guide them, but never hinder them or misguide them. Let there be complete harmony of thought and word and deed between you. May you have no secrets from each other, may you be one in soul!

The very purpose of marriage is restraint, and sublimation of the sexual passion. If there is any other purpose, marriage is no consecration, but marriage for other purposes besides having progeny.

Marriage is meant to cleanse the hearts of the couple of sordid passions and take them nearer to God.

In India, it must be held to be a crime to spend money on dinner and marriage parties, *tamashas* and other luxuries as long as millions of people

are starving

Marriage is a natural thing in life, and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong

Marriage confirms the right or union between two partners to the exclusion of all the others when in their joint opinion they consider such union to be desirable

Marriage, for the satisfaction of sexual appetite, is no marriage. It is *vyabhichar* (व्यभिचार concupiscence)

Again, true marriage means not merely union of bodies. It connotes the union of the souls too. If marriage meant no more than a physical relationship, the bereaved wife should be satisfied with a portrait or a waxen image of her husband

MASSES

The educated class, lovers of *Swaraj*, must freely mix with the masses. We dare not reject a single member of the community. We shall make progress if we carry all with us

We regard masses as our mainstay for it is they who have to attain *Satwraj*.

The masses are by no means so foolish, or un-intelligent as we sometimes imagine

The Congress must progressively represent the masses

MATERIALISM

Western nations are today groaning under the heel of the monster of materialism.

MEANS

For me it is enough to know the means. Means and ends are convertible terms in my philosophy of life.

They say—"Means are after all means". I would say—"Means are after all everything".

As the means so the end.

Violent means will give violent *Swaraj*.

There is no wall of separation between means and end.

Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end.

Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means.

For over 50 years I have trained myself never to be concerned about the result. What I should be concerned about is the means, and when I am sure of the purity of the means, faith is enough to lead me on. All fear and trembling melt away before that faith.

We must thus rest satisfied with a knowledge

only of the means and if these are pure, we can fearlessly leave the end to take care of itself

MEASURES

Measures must always in a progressive society be held superior to men who are after all imperfect instruments working for their fulfilment

If we want to serve India we must put measures before men. The latter come and go, but causes must survive even the greatest of them

MEMORY

Memory is a very frail thing. The written word stands for ever

MERIT

It can never be an act of merit to look down upon any human being as inferior to us

MIND

Man cannot develop his mind by simply writing and reading or making speeches all day long

MINORITY—MINORITIES—MINORITY COMMUNITIES

The only non-violent solution I know is for the Hindus to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities to govern their country. This is no academic belief. The solution is attended with no risk. For under a free government the real power will be held by the people

Numerical strength savours of violence when it acts in total disregard of any strongly felt opinion of a minority.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

Misunderstandings have been my lot since I entered public life, and I have got inured to them.

MISTAKES

I believe that if in spite of the best of intentions one is led into committing mistakes, they do not really result in harm to the world or for the matter of that any individual.

I am always ready to correct my mistakes.

A full and candid admission of one's mistake should make one proof against its repetition.

A full realization of one's mistake is also the highest form of expiation.

I have always held that it is only when one sees one's own mistakes with a convex lens, and does just the reverse in the case of others, that one is able to arrive at a just relative estimate of the two.

We learn and profit through our mistakes and failures.

No general worth the name gives up a battle because he has suffered reverses, or which is the same thing, made mistakes

MISUSE

Every powerful thing is liable to misuse

MOB

Personally I do not mind Governmental fury
as I mind mob fury

It is easier to oust a Government that has rendered itself unfit to govern than it is to cure unknown people in a mob of their madness

The greatest obstacle is that we have not yet emerged from the mobocratic stage. But my consolation lies in the fact that nothing is so easy as to train mobs for the simple reason that they have no mind, no premeditation. They act in a frenzy. They repent quickly.

MODERN CIVILISATION—ANCIENT CIVILISATION

The distinguishing characteristic of modern civilisation is an indefinite multiplicity of human wants. The characteristic of ancient civilisation is an imperative restriction upon and a strict regulating of these wants.

The restraint of ancient or Eastern civilisation arises from a belief, often in spite of ourselves, in a future state and the existence of a Divine Power.

MORAL GROWTH

Increase of material comforts, it may be gene

rally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

MORALITY

Morality is rooted in the purity of our hearts.

Morality which depends upon the helplessness of a man or woman has not much to recommend it.

Morality is the basis of things and truth is the substance of all morality.

Morality is contraband in war.

There is no such thing as religion over-tiding morality.

I have ever held that the highest morality is also the highest expedience.

MOKSHA (SALVATION)

What I want to achieve—what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years,—is self-realisation to see God face to face, to attain *Moksha* (मोक्ष). I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end.

The aim of human life is Moksha.

As a Hindu I believe that *Moksha* is freedom from birth by breaking the bonds of flesh, by becoming one with God.

Moksha is liberation from impure thought

MONEY

I have seen from experience that money cannot go as far as fellow-feeling, kind words and kind looks can

MONEY GIFTS

Money gifts are hardly ever a sure indication of love. In fact in our epics we have the story often told of God refusing the richest presents from those having great possessions, and preferring to eat the coarse morsel lovingly given by a devotee

MONOTONY—MONOTONOUS

Monotony is the law of nature. Look at the monotonous manner in which the sun rises. And imagine the catastrophe that would befall the universe, if the sun became capricious and went in for a variety of pastime.

But there is a monotony that sustains and a monotony that kills. The monotony of necessary occupation is exhilarating and life-giving.

MOTHERLAND

Let all of us Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians live amicably as Indians, pledged to live and die for our Motherland

MOTHERS

Mothers spoil their children from their infancy,

and load them with ornaments and superfluous clothes. They marry their young girls to old men.

MOTIVE

Unlike as among us very imperfect beings, in His Durbar the motive rather than the act itself decides its quality,

In anything *Satyagrahi* there should be purity of motive, means and end.

Pure motives can never justify impure or violent action.

The moment there is suspicion about a person's motives, everything he does becomes tainted.

To come now to the question of motive, whilst it is true that mental attitude is the crucial test of *Ahimsa*, it is not the sole test.

MUNICIPALITIES—MUNICIPAL—MUNICIPAL COUNCILLOR

Municipalities are perhaps the greatest fraud palmed off upon India. The Government has hitherto used them for consolidating its power. But where the citizens are united, they can attain the municipal home rule in a moment.

Every Municipality can render the greatest service by insisting on people observing the law of sanitation.

I consider myself a lover of Municipal life. I think that it is a rare privilege for a person to find

himself in the position of Municipal Councillor, but let me note down for you as a man of some experience in public life that one indispensable condition of that privilege is that Municipal Councillors dare not approach their office from interested or selfish motives. They must approach their sacred task in a spirit of service.

NATION

Nations are born out of travail and suffering

What is true of the individual will be to-morrow true of the whole nation if individuals will but refuse to lose heart and hope

Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands before we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation

And I believe that a nation that is capable of limitless sacrifice is capable of rising to limitless heights.

NATIONAL DRESS

I wear the national dress because it is the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

National Government is dependent upon purity of the Government of our cities

NATIONAL VOLUNTARY WORKER

The difference between a voluntary worker and a hireling lies in the fact that whereas a hireling gives his service to whosoever pays his price, a national voluntary worker gives his service only to the nation for the cause he believes in and he serves it even though he might have to starve.

NATIONAL WORK

We want an army of national workers. In a poor country like India, it is not possible to get such workers without pay. I see not only no shame, but I see credit in accepting pay for national work honestly and well done. We shall have to engage many paid whole-time workers when *Swaraj* is established. Shall we then feel less pride in belonging to the *Swaraj* service than Englishmen do in belonging to the Indian Civil Service?

NATIONALISM

Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact.

Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive.

In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms.

It is not nationalism that is evil, it is narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness, which is the bane of modern nations, which is evil. Each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on, the ruin of the other.

Indian nationalism has, I hope, struck a different path. It wants to organise itself for the benefit and service of humanity at large.

Our nationalism can be no peril to other nations inasmuch as we will exploit none, just as we allow none to exploit us. Through *Swaraj* we shall serve the whole world.

NATURE

Nature abhors weakness.

Nature abhors a vacuum. Therefore, construction must keep pace with destruction.

NOBILITY

Light brings light, not darkness, and nobility done with a noble purpose will be twice rewarded.

NON-CO-OPERATION

Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good.

Non-co-operation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil.

Non-co-operation is the most potent instrument for creating world opinion in our favour.

Non-co-operation becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment.

Non-co-operation is a measure of discipline

and sacrifice and it demands patience and respect for opposite views.

The roots of non-co-operation lie not in hatred but in justice if not in love.

My non-co-operation is with methods and systems, never with men.

NON-VIOLENCE

My religion is based on Truth and Non-violence. Truth is my God. Non-violence is the means of realizing Him.

Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering.

Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery.

Non-violence cannot be taught to a person who fears to die, and has no power of resistance.

A votary of no-violence must have the capacity to put up with the indignities and hardships of prison life not only without retaliation or anger but with pity in his heart for the perpetrator of those hardships and indignities.

Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man.

Non-violence is a quality not of the body but of the soul. Once its central meaning sinks into your being, all the rest itself follows.

The hardest metal yields to sufficient heat. Even so must the hardest heart melt before sufficiency of the heat of non-violence. And there is no limit to the capacity of non-violence to generate heat. I have been practising with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years. I have applied it in every walk of life, domestic, institutional, economic and political. I know of no single case in which it has failed.

The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *Rishis* and Saints. It is meant for the common people as well.

Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute.

Non-violence begins and ends by turning the searchlight inward.

Non-violence is a universal law acting under all circumstances.

Non-violence is the summit of bravery.

Non-violence is a plant of slow growth.

Non-violence is like radium in action.

Non-violence is invincible.

Non-violence becomes meaningless if violence is permitted for self defence.

Non-violence is the virtue of the manly.

Non-violence is not an easy thing to understand, still less to practise.

Mankind has to get out of violence through non-violence.

My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger.

The common factor of all religions is non-violence.

Non-violence is not a quality to be evolved or expressed to order.

The spirit of non-violence necessarily leads to humility.

The only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence.

Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed.

My creed is truth and non-violence in its extreme form.

All society is held together by non-violence even as the earth is held in her position by gravitation.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence.

My non-violence is made of sterner stuff It
 is firmer than the firmest metal known to
 scientists

My method of non violence can never lead
 to loss of strength I have stated times without
 number that I detest violence in any shape or form

Not violence not untruth, but non-violence,
 truth is the law of our being

My love for non-violence is superior to every
 other thing mundane or super-mundane

My life is dedicated to service of India through
 the religion of non violence

For me non violence is not a mere philosophi-
 cal principle It is the rule and the breath of
 my life

I cannot give you the faith in non violence
 you do not possess

Non-violence is a force that gains in intensity
 with the increase in the violence that it has to deal
 with

Non violence for the society is necessarily
 different from that for the individual

Our non-violence to be true must be in word,
 thought and deed

If your non-violence is of the weak, it follows
 that we shall never be able by such non-violence
 to retain freedom

In terms of non-violence. 'Quit India!' is a healthy, potent cry of the soul.

Non-violence is an active force of the highest order.

The *Rishis* who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence were greater geniuses than Newton.

For me as a believer in non-violence out and out, Guru Govind Singh, Lenin, Kemal Pasha, etc. cannot be guides in life as far as their faith in war is concerned.

The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life.

Non-violence is never a method of coercion, it is one of conversion.

Potent and active non-violence cannot be cultivated unless the candidate goes through the necessary stages which require a lot of plodding.

Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of non-co-operation is built.

Non-violence is not worth much if it is worsted in the face of greatest provocation.

True test of non-violence lies in acquiring the capacity to meet an innocent and unflinching death in the service of our cause.

I believe that non-violence is infinitely supe-

rior to violence, forgiveness more manly than punishment.

To practise non-violence in mundane matters is to know its value.

The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear.

Non-violence cannot be learnt in a day.

In a society based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest.

My non-violence does not require any gilding of a bitter pill.

We dare not exchange non-violence even for *Swaraj*.

The attainment of freedom whether for a man, a nation or the world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of non-violence by each.

NON-VIOLENT

A non-violent warrior knows no leaving the battle.

A non-violent fight is as sharp as the edge of the sword—sharpened on the whetstone of the heart.

Sufferings of the non-violent have been known to melt the stoniest hearts.

The bravery of the non-violent is vastly superior to that of the violent.

The beauty of non-violent war is that women can play the same part in it as men.

A non-violent revolution is not a programme of seizure of power.

Embarrassment caused by non-violent action would move established authority to yield to popular will.

Non-violent action without the co-operation of the heart and the head cannot produce the intended result.

If there were eye witnesses of the rapes and if the witnesses were non-violent, why were they alive?

Non-violent war calls into play suffering to the largest extent.

Non-violent behaviour would dictate generous and gentle behaviour towards a culprit.

Non-violent politics cannot be divorced from moral uplift.

There is no such thing as defeat in non-violent resistance.

I am but a poor struggling soul, yearning to be wholly good, wholly truthful and wholly non-violent in thought, word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true.

Non-violent strength comes from construction, not destruction.

The badge of the violent is his weapon
spear or sword or rifle God is the shield of the
non violent

OBEDIENCE

* Compulsory obedience to a master is a state
of slavery, willing obedience to one's father is the
glory of sonship

OBSTINATE

I am not conscious of being obstinate Those
who know me have always credited me with an
ample faculty for compromise though they have
found me unyielding on matters of principle

OPPONENTS

I want you to feel like loving your opponents
and the way to do it is to give them the same
credit for honesty of purpose which you would
claim for yourself

And immediatly we begin to think of things as
our opponents think of them we shall be able to do
them full justice

An opponent is entitled to the same regard or
his principles as we would expect others to have
for ours

Non-Violence demands that we should seek
every opportunity to win over opponents

And the least therefore that we owe to ourselv
es as to others is to try to understand the
opponent's view point and, if we cannot accept it,

respect it as fully as we would expect him to respect ours. It is one of the indispensable tests of a healthy public life and therefore fitness for *Swaraj*.

OPTIMIST—OPTIMISM

I am an irrepressible optimist, but I always base my optimism on solid facts.

I am an optimist because I expect many things from myself.

I am an irrepressible optimist. No scientist starts his work with a faint heart.

ORGANISATION

An organisation has every right to prescribe penalties for a breach by its members of self-imposed conditions.

I know no organisation that has died for want of funds. Organisations die always for want of men, i.e., honesty, efficiency and self-sacrifice.

No organisation can be run with success if its members, especially its officers, refuse to carry out its policy and hold on to it in spite of opposition to it.

Organisations, like men, if they are to command respect and grow, must have a sense of honour and must fulfil their promise.

No movement or organization having vitality dies from external attack. It dies of internal decay.

An organisation weakens if its members continuously seek indulgence

Distorted notions of superiority and inferiority have given rise to indiscipline in almost all the national organisations

For man is himself a wonderful organisation and what applies to him applies to the social or political organisations of which he may be a member. And even as though the different members of the body are not inferior to any, they are voluntarily subject to the control of the mind, whilst the body is in a healthy state so have the members of an organisation, whilst none is superior or inferior to any other, to be voluntarily subject to the mind of the organisation which is the head

An organisation which has no directing mind and which has no members co operating with the mind suffers from paralysis and is in a dying condition

Let us not forget that organisations are meant for the service of the people and not people for the service of the organisation

PALATE

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he controls his palate

But have you ever seen a horse or cow indulging in the abuse of the palate as we do ?

One should eat not in order to please the palate but just to keep the body going

Passion in man is generally co-existent with a hankering after the pleasures of the palate.

PANIC

Panic is the most demoralising state anyone can be in.

There never is any cause for panic. One must keep heart whatever happens.

PARTIES

There is room enough in our country for as many parties as there are honest men.

PASSIONS

When your passions threaten to get the better of you, go down on your knees and cry out to God for help.

Human passions are fleeter even than the wind and to subdue them completely requires no end of patience. Unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating, and exciting condiments we shall certainly not be able to control the over-abundant, unnecessary and exciting stimulation of the animal passion.

PATH

I know the path. It is straight and narrow. It is like the edge of a sword. I rejoice to walk on it. I weep when I slip.

PATIENCE—PATIENT

To lose patience is to lose the battle.

If patience is worth anything, it must endure to the end of time.

If one may use man's language about God, God has been very patient with us. But I have no hesitation in saying that even God's patience can be exhausted, and He will no longer be patient towards this atrocity that man has been doing to man in Hindu India.

PATRIOTISM

Patriotism based on hatred 'killeth' and patriotism based on love 'giveth life'.

Anyway, there is no uncertainty about my patriotism or nationalism. God having cast my lot in the midst of the people of India, I should be untrue to my Maker if I failed to serve them. If I do not know how to serve them I shall never know how to serve humanity. And I cannot possibly go wrong so long as I do not harm other nations in the act of serving my country.

My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general.

For me patriotism is the same as humanity.

But my patriotism is not exclusive; it is calculated not only not to hurt any other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word.

PATRONAGE

I do not want any patronage as I do not give

any.

PEACE

The way of peace is the way of truth.

Each one has to find his peace from within. And peace to be real must be unaffected by outside circumstances.

I am a man of peace. I believe in peace, but I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in the grave, but I do want the peace which you find embedded in the human breast, which is exposed to the arrows of the whole world, but which is protected by the Power of the Almighty God.

PENANCES

Penances with me are no mechanical acts. They are done in obedience to the inner voice.

PEOPLE

My faith in the people is boundless. Theirs is an amazingly responsive nature. Let not the leaders distrust them.

PERFECTION

No human being is so bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom he wrongly considers to be wholly evil.

PERSEVERANCE

Perseverance opens up treasures which bring perennial joy.

PETITION—PETITION WRITERS

I do wish as a practised draughtsman to warn writers of petitions, whether they be pleaders or otherwise, to think of the cause they may be espousing for the time being. I assure them that a bare statement of facts unembellished with adjectives is far more eloquent and effective than a narrative glowing with exuberant language.

Petition writers must understand that they understand busy men, not necessarily sympathetic, sometimes prejudiced, and almost invariably prone to sustain the decisions of their subordinates.

Petitions have to be read or analysed by public workers and journalists who have none too much time at their disposal.

I make a present of my valuable experience to young patriots who wish to try the art of advocating public cause by writing petitions or otherwise. I had the privilege of serving under the late Mr. Gokhale and for a time under the Grand Old Man of India. (Dada Bhai Nauroji). Both told me that if I wanted to be heard I must be brief, I must write to the point and adhere to facts, and never travel beyond the cause under notice, and I must be most

sparing in my adjectives. And if some success has attended my effort it is due to my acceptance of the golden advice given to me by the two illustrious deceased.

PICKETING—PICKETERS—PICKET

Picketing in its nature must be temporary, but it is like what a stimulant is in medicine.

I recognise the necessity of using only men and women of character as pickets and of guarding against violence being offered to those who insist on drinking in the face of public opinion.

Picketing is a duty a citizen must discharge, when he is not helped by the state.

What is a police patrol, if it is not picketing against thieves? The police use the gun, when the thief betrays an inclination to break into another's house. A picket uses the pressure of shame, i.e., love, when he warns a weak brother against the dangers of the drink evil.

Peaceful picketing does not mean that so long as no physical violence is used, any kind of pressure could be used.

The picketers' duty is merely to warn drinkers against the vice of drink, not molest them or otherwise prevent them if they will not listen.

PITFALLS

I must try to live in society and yet remain

untouched by its pitfalls

PLAIN SPEAKING

If plain speaking were rudeness, I am simply saturated with it

PLEDGE

Personally I hold that a man, who deliberately and intelligently takes a pledge and then breaks it, forfeits his manhood

When once a man has pledged himself, he need not hesitate to pledge himself a hundred times But yet it is no uncommon experience to find men weakening in regard to pledges deliberately taken and getting perplexed when asked to put down a verbal pledge in black and white

Every one recognises the excellent effect produced by temperance pledges

POLICY

A policy may be changed, a creed cannot But either is as good as the other whilst it is held

POLITICS—POLITICIAN

Politics bereft of religion are a death trap because they kill the soul.

Pouring ridicule on one's opponent is an approved method in "civilized politics"

For me there is no politics without religion—

not the religion of the superstitious and the blind religion that hates and fights, but the Universal Religion of Toleration.

Politics without morality is a thing to be avoided.

You must understand that I cannot isolate politics from the deepest things of my life, for the simple reason that my politics are not corrupt, they are inextricably bound up with Non-violence and Truth.

The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircles us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries.

POLITICAL POWER

To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life.

Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives.

POOR—POVERTY

The curse of the poor has destroyed nations, has deprived kings of their crowns and the rich of their riches.

The blessings of the poor have made kingdoms flourish.

Riches are no test of goodness. Indeed, poverty is the only test. A good man voluntarily embraces poverty.

The rich are discontented no less than the poor.

The poor man would fain become a millionaire and the millionaire a multi-millionaire.

The grinding poverty and starvation with which our country is afflicted is such that it drives more and more men every year into the ranks of the beggars, whose desperate struggle for bread renders them insensible to all feelings of decency and self-respect.

POWER

Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the peoples.

I believe in thought power more than in the power of the word, whether written or spoken.

When people come into possession of political power, the interference with the freedom of people is reduced to a minimum.

Every palace that one sees in India is a demonstration not of her riches but of the insolence of power that riches give to the few, who owe them to the miserably requited labours of the millions of the paupers of India.

Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by arts of love.

Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.

Power invariably elects to go into the hands of the strong. The strength may be physical or of the heart or, if we do not fight shy of the word, of the spirit.

Let it be remembered that physical force is transitory even as the body is transitory. But the power of the spirit is permanent, even as the spirit is everlasting.

I am no believer in the doctrine that the same power can at the same time trust and distrust, grant liberty and repress it.

PRACTICE—THEORY

Indeed, I hold that what cannot be proved in practice cannot be sound in theory.

PRAYER

Prayer is a confession of one's own unworthiness and weakness.

Prayer is the key of the morning and the bolt of the evening.

Prayer is not an asking; it is a longing of the soul.

Prayer is either petitional, or, in its wider sense, is inward communion.

Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily acts.

Prayer is the first and the last lesson in learning the noble and brave art of sacrificing self.

Prayer accompanied by adequate suffering is prayer of the heart.

Prayer is not an old woman's idle amusement.

Without prayer there is no inward peace.

Even as a hungry man relishes a hearty meal, a hungry soul will relish a heartfelt prayer.

Works without faith and prayer are like artificial flowers without fragrance.

Worship and prayer are not to be performed with the lips but with the heart.

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world.

My greatest weapon is mute prayer.

My faith is increasing in the efficacy of silent prayer.

My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray.

God never answers prayers of the arrogant, nor the prayers of those who bargain with Him.

Prayer has saved my life. Without it, I should have been a lunatic long ago

Prayer has not been a part of my life as truth has been. Prayer came out of sheer necessity. I found myself in a plight where I could not possibly be happy without prayer.

I have had my share of the bitterest public and private experiences. They threw me into temporary despair. If I was able to get rid of that despair, it was because of prayer.

The more my faith in God increased, the more irresistible became my yearning for prayer. Life seemed to be dull and vacant without it.

In fact, food for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. For starvation is often necessary in order to keep the body in health, but there is no such thing as prayer starvation. You cannot possibly have a surfeit of prayer.

I am not a man of learning, but I humbly claim to be a man of prayer.

Three of the greatest teachers of the world, Buddha, Jesus, and Mohammed, have left unimpeachable testimony that they found illumination through prayer and could not possibly live without it.

Millions of Christians, Hindus and Mussalmans find their only solace in life is prayer.

In spite of despair staring me in the face on

the political horizon, I have never lost my peace. In fact, I have found people who envy my peace. That peace comes from prayer.

We may miss many things in life but not prayer, which implies our co-operation with God and with one another.

Prayer should be a bath of purification for the spirit of man.

Our physical health suffers if we do not wash our bodies ; similarly the spirit becomes unclean if the heart is not washed with prayer. Please—therefore never be negligent in prayer.

PRESIDENT

President...means chief servant.

PRIESTS.

It is a painful fact, but it is a historical truth, that priests who should have been the real custodians of religion have been instrumental in destroying the religion of which they have been custodians.

PRINCE

That prince is acceptable to me who becomes a prince among his people's servants. The subjects are the real master.

PRINCIPLE

We must be prepared to displease the dearest

ones for the sake of principle.

There are eternal principles which admit of no compromise, and one must be prepared to lay down one's life in the practice of them.

A principle is a principle, and in no case can it be watered down because of our incapability to live it in practice. We have to strive to achieve it, and the striving should be *conscious, deliberate* and hard.

I do not give up the principle which is true for all time that all life is one, and I pray to God that He may rid me of the fear of snakes and enable me to achieve the non-violence necessary to handle snakes as we handle other domestics.

Let no one charge me with ever having abused, or encouraged weakness or surrender on matter of principle. But I have said, as I say again, that every trifle must not be dignified into a principle.

A principle is the expression of perfection, and as imperfect beings like us cannot practise perfection, we devise every moment limits of its compromise in practice.

Ill-digested principles are, if anything, worse than ill-digested food, for the latter harms the body and there is cure for it, whereas the former ruin the soul and there is no cure for it.

There is no principle worth the name if it is not wholly good.

PROGRESS

Progress towards *swaraj* will be in exact proportion to increase in the number of workers who will dare to sacrifice their all for the cause of the poor

Healthy discontent is the prelude to progress

Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress

The road to any progress is strewn with such difficulty, and the story of man's ascent in the scale of evolution is co-extensive with the history of the successful overcoming of these difficulties

Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone by the sufferer

The purer the suffering, the greater is the progress

PROMISE

I believe in the necessity of the performance of one's promises at all costs

To my knowledge, throughout my public and private career, I have never broken a promise

Breach of a promise is no less an act of insolvency than a refusal to pay one's debt

Breach of promise is a base surrender of truth

I am fully convinced that no body of men can make themselves into a nation to perform great tasks unless *they become as true as steel* and unless their promises come to be regarded by the world like the law of the Medes and Persians inflexible and unbreakable.

We have in this country a habit of making promises in a fit of enthusiasm, keeping them for a time and then forgetting altogether.

My own opinion and that of many others is that promises or vows are necessary for the strongest of us.

A promise is like a right angle not nearly but exactly 90°. The slightest deflection makes it useless for the grand purpose that the right angle serves. A voluntary promise is like a plumb line keeping the man straight and warning him when he is going wrong.

Above all keep yourselves pure and clean, and learn to keep your promises even at the cost of life.

PROPAGANDA

Practice is the best speech and the best propaganda.

Black flags, noisy slogans, and hurling of stones and shoes have no place in educative and constructive propaganda.

PROSTITUTES—PROSTITUTION

They (prostitutes) are driven to a life of shame. I am satisfied that they do not go to it from choice. And the beast in man has made the detestable crime a lucrative profession.

It (prostitution) is an evil which cannot last for a single day, if we men of India realise our own dignity.

If many of the most respectful among us were not steeped in the vice, this kind of indulgence would be regarded as a greater crime than the stealing of a banana by a hungry man or the picking of a pocket by a youngster who is in need of money. What is worse and more hurtful to society—to steal property or to steal the honour of a woman?

Let me not be told that the public woman is a party to the sale of her honour, but not the millionaire on the race-course whose pocket is picked by a professional pick-pocket.

Who is worse—an urchin who picks a pocket or a scoundrel who drags his victim and then makes him sign away the whole of his property? Does not man by his subtle and unscrupulous ways first rob woman of her noblest instinct and then make her partner in the crime committed against her?

Let the Indian man ponder over the fate of the thousands of sisters who are destined to a life of shame for his unlawful and immoral indulgence. The pity of it is that the vast majority of the men who visit these pestilential haunts are married men and therefore commit a double sin. They sin against their wives to whom they have sworn allegiance and they sin against the sisters whose purity they are bound to guard with as much jealousy as that of their own blood sisters.

PROVIDENCE

Providence has its appointed hour for everything. We cannot command results ; we can only strive.

PROVINCIALISM

To attain *Swaraj* implies the cultivation of a spirit of self-sacrifice, including the sacrifice of provincialism.

Provincialism is a bar not only to the realisation of national *Swaraj* but also to the achievement of provincial autonomy. Women perhaps are more responsible than men for keeping up this narrow spirit.

PUBLIC FUND

Let me...warn the public that the safety of the public fund lies more in intelligent vigilance of the public than in the strict integrity of those who are in charge of fund. Absolute honesty of the trustees is a necessity, but public inertia is a crime.

A public fund becomes public property and therefore every member of the public is entitled to know in detail the administration of such funds.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ✓

A public institution means an institution conducted with the approval, and from the funds, of the public. When such an institution ceases to have public support, it forfeits its right to exist.

It has become my firm opinion that it is not good to run public institutions on permanent fund. Institutions maintained on permanent funds are often found to ignore public opinion, and are frequently responsible for acts contrary to it.

I have no doubt that the ideal is for public institutions to live like nature from day to day. The institution that fails to win public support has no right to exist as such. The subscriptions that an institution annually receives are a test of its popularity and the honesty of its management and I am of opinion that every institution should submit to that test.

The public should be the bank for all public institutions which should not last a day longer than the public wish.

An institution run with the interest of accumulated capital ceases to be amenable to public opinion and becomes autocratic and self righteous.

I know that procrastination among members is bane of most institutions.

PUBLIC MONEY

I do not think any one can beat me in my passion for guarding and expending public money like a miser.

Public money belongs to the poor public of India than whom there is none poorer on earth.

PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion alone can keep a society pure and healthy. For me every ruler is alien that defies public opinion.

The evolution of public opinion is at times a tardy process but it is the only effective one.

Legislation in advance of public opinion is often worse than useless.

Non-co-operation is the quickest method of creating public opinion.

Public opinion cannot be aroused over grievances that cannot be verified and traced to their sources.

Healthy public opinion has an influence of which we have not realised the full significance.

Public opinion becomes intolerable when it becomes violent and aggressive.

A popular state can never act in advance of public opinion. If it goes against it, it will be destroyed.

On the other hand, if a man fails to follow the light within for fear of public opinion or any other similar reason he would never be able to know right from wrong and in the end lose all sense of distinction between the two.

PUBLIC TRUST

All public institutions are public trust and those who are in charge of them have often times to harden their hearts and rigorously collect all debts owing to the trust and their charge

Leniency in the management of public trust is a misplaced virtue and may often amount to an unpardonable breach.

PUBLIC WORKERS

There is in modern public life a tendency to ignore altogether the character of a public worker so long as he works efficiently as a unit in an administrative machinery.

I am used to misrepresentation and have been so all my life. It is the lot of every public worker.

He has to have a tough life. Life would be burdensome if every misrepresentation had to be answered and cleared. It is a rule of life with me never to explain misrepresentation except when the cause required correction. This rule has saved much time and and worry.

PURE LIFE

Let every aspirant after a pure life take from me that an impure thought is often as powerful in undermining the body as an impure act.

PURITY

Purity of personal life is the one indispensable

condition for building a sound education.

Purity is the only weapon of the weak in body.

Without the will and the purity, the sacrifice is nothing worth.

Purity Consists first of all in possessing a pure heart but what there is in the heart comes out also and is shown in outward acts and outward behaviour

Purity of character and salvation depend on purity of heart.

Put all your knowledge learning and scholarship in one scale and truth and purity in the other and the latter will by far outweigh the other.

PUNCTUALITY

I attach the greatest importance to punctuality in our programme as it is a corollary of non-violence.

PUNISHMENT

Punishment is God's, who alone is the infallible judge. It does not belong to man "with judgement weak."

I know that thrusting my finger into a furnace will surely burn it and still thrust it; my suffering is no punishment, it is the natural consequence of action.

Punishment depends upon the will of the judge

Natural consequences are independent of any person's will.

PURPOSE.

Man's destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to the rightful place.

QUALITY

In every great cause it is not the number of fighters that counts but it is the quality of which they are made that becomes the deciding factor.

That quality is more than quantity is sound theory because it is true in practice.

RAMA

Rama is but a synonym of God.

Rama is the strength of the weak.

RAMA-NAMA

Ram-Nam is not for those who tempt God in every way possible and every expect it to save. It is for those who walk in fear of God, who want to restrain themselves and cannot inspite of themselves.

Nevertheless there are those who are struck with doubt and despair. For them there is the name of God—*Ram Nam*.

Ram, Allah and God are to me convertible terms.

Let him (*Brahmchari*) repeat *Ramanama* with all his heart regularly every day, and ask for divine grace.

Ramanama is an infallible help.

Ramunama or some equivalent is necessary, not for the sake of repetition, but as an aid to effort, for direct guidance from above. It is, therefore, never a substitute for effort. It is meant for intensifying and guiding it in proper channel.

RAM-RAJ

By *Ram-Raj* I do not mean *Hindu Raj*. I mean by *Ram-Raj* Divine *Raj*, the Kingdom of God. For me *Ram* and *Rahim* are one and the same deity.

RAMAYANA (*Tulsidass*)

In order to arrive at a proper estimate of a book it must be judged as a whole. So much for external criticism. The internal test of a book consists in finding out what effect it has produced on the majority of its readers. Judged by either methods the position of the *Ramayana* as a book *par excellence* remains unassailable. This, however, does not mean that it is absolutely faultless.

But it is claimed on behalf of the *Ramayana*

that it has given peace to millions has given faith to those who had it not, and is even today serving as a healing balm to thousands who are burnt by the fire of unbelief. Every page of it is flowing with devotion.

It is a veritable mine of spiritual experience.

REASON.

The golden rule is to test everything in the light of reason and experience, no matter from whom it comes.

To awaken the heart is to awaken the dormant soul to awaken reason, and to inculcate discrimination between good and evil.

I plead, not for the suppression of reason, but for a due recognition of that in us which sanctifies reason itself.

I reject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to reason and is in conflict with morality.

Reason has to be strengthened by suffering and suffering opens the eyes of understanding.

Every formula of every religion has in this age of reason to submit to the acid test of reason and universal assent.

I have found that mere appeal to reason does not answer where prejudices are age long and based on supposed religious authority.

REBELLION

Rebellion in a just cause is a duty, the extent

of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice done and felt.

REFORM

All reforms owe their origin to the initiation of minorities in opposition to majorities.

In every branch of reform, constant study, giving one a mastery over one's subject, is necessary.

No reform has ever been brought about except through intrepid individuals breaking down inhuman customs and usages.

Ignorance is at the root of failures, partial or complete, of all reform movements whose merits are admitted.

It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or to contemplate reform of the whole world.

REFORMER

A reformer cannot always afford to wait. If he does not put into force his belief, he is no reformer. Either he is too hasty or too afraid or too lazy. Who is to advise him or provide him with a barometer? You can only guide yourself with a disciplined conscience, and then run all risks with the protecting armour of truth and non-violence. A reformer could not do otherwise.

REGULAR (HABITS)

It is universal experience that a boy with

regular habits does twice the amount of work than a boy does who works irregularly

Where is the reformer who has not a price put upon his head ? A reformer's business is to make the impossible possible by giving an ocular demonstration of the possibility in his own conduct

RELIGION

Religion binds man to God and man to man

Religion is not really what is grasped by the brain but by the heart

Religion divorced from morality is like 'sounding brass good only' for making a noise and breaking heads

Belief in one God is the corner stone of all religions

The foundation of religion is restraint

Where there is fear, there is no religion

A religion will be tested by the purity of its adherents

Religions are meant to take out savage nature not to let it loose.

Religions are different roads converging to the same point

The seat of a religion is in the heart.

You cannot defend yourself and your religion with the help of hooligans.]

Hinduism is the most tolerant of all religions.

⑦ I do not regard any of the great religions of the world as false.

My religion is a matter solely between my Maker and myself.

The soul of religions is one, but it is encased in a multitude of forms.

I want lasting peace that springs from toleration of each other's religion.

My friends will not engage me in a religious discussion with them.

My personal religion peremptorily forbids me to hate anybody.

✓ I want everyone of you to cultivate faith in God and religion

① Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation

His own religion is the truest to every man, even if it stands low in the scales of philosophic comparisons.

'You may be incapable of attaining the ideal, your flesh may be weak but do not therefore lower the ideal do not make irreligion your religion

God there is only one, but He enables me to see Him and worship Him in stone, in an Englishman, in a traitor if you will For I shall not hate even a traitor My religion takes me to that length

The Musalman does count the beads of his *tasbeeh* and the Christian of the rosary But both would think themselves fallen from religion if their *tasbeeh* and rosary prevented them from running to the succour of one who, for instance, was lying stricken with a snakebite

Religion does not mean merely offering one's *namaz* or going to the temple But it means knowledge of one's self and knowledge of God

[No religion which is narrow and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reconstruction of society in which the values will have changed and character not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the test of merit]

All great religions have rightly regarded *Kama* (Sanskrit word for desire) as the arch enemy of man

[Religion without the backing of reason and enlightenment is a worthless sentiment which is bound to die of inanition]

[Let me explain what I mean by religion It is not the Hindu religion which I certainly prize

above all other religions, but the religion that transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within and which ever purifies. It is the permanent quality in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself.

It is a tragedy that religion for us² means today nothing more than restrictions on food and drink, nothing more than a sense of superiority or inferiority. Let me tell you that there cannot be grosser ignorance than this.]

God, who is the embodiment of Truth and Right and Justice, could never have sanctioned a religion or practice which regards a fifth of our vast population as untouchables. I want you, therefore, to rid yourselves of this monstrous nation...It is not religion, but the grossest species of irreligion.

And all the great religions of the world, however much they may differ, are absolutely one on this, fundamental thing that no man or woman with an impure heart can possibly appear before the Great White Throne.

RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

Rightly or wrongly it is my religious conviction. that man may not eat meat, eggs, and the like. There should be a limit even to the means of keeping ourselves alive. Even for life itself we may not do certain things.

RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY

In free India every religion should prosper on terms of equality, unlike what is happening today

REPENTANCE

A clean confession, combined with a promise never to commit the sin again, when offered before one who has the right to receive it, is the purest type of repentance

REPRESSION

Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold.

Repression is really an oxygen draught

Repression, if it does not cow us down, if it does not deter us from our purpose, can but hasten the advent of *Swaraaj*, for it puts us on our mettle and evokes the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the face of danger

According to the science of *Satyagraha*, the greater the repression and lawlessness on the part of authority, the greater should be the suffering courted by the victims

RESISTING

You have now perhaps learnt that the best way of resisting injury is never to injure the injurer, but ever to refuse, no matter how much suffering the refusal costs us, to do his will when

we know it to be wrong.

RESOLUTIONS

What faith can you place in a general or a soldier who lacks resolution and determination, who says, "I shall keep guard as long as I can"?

RESOLUTION

It would conduce to national progress and save a great deal of time and trouble if we cultivated the habit of never supporting the resolutions either by speaking or voting for them if we had not either the intention or the ability to carry them out.

RESPONSIBLE

We are responsible for whatever is happening in this country today and it will not be proper to say that Nature has done it. Nature has no hands. Nature does things through your and my hands and it is therefore I say that we have done every thing that is happening around us.

RESTRAINT

Restraint never ruins one's health.

Restraint self-imposed is no compulsion.

The very first step in self restraint is the restraint of thoughts.

What ruins one's health is not restraint but outward suppression.

RETREAT

, Retreat itself is often a plan of resistance and may be a precursor of great bravery and sacrifice

Every retreat is not cowardice which implies fear to die

Of course a brave man would more often die in violently or non violently resisting the aggressor in the latter's attempt to oust him from his property but he will be no less brave if wisdom dictates present retreat

RICHES

If a man who is eager to get riches gets the riches from another but without sympathy he will give him up in the long run

RIDICULE

Ridicule is like repression Both give place to respect when they fail to produce the intended effect

RIGHT

Rights accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties

In fact the right to perform one's duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for It covers all legitimate rights All the rest is grab under one guise or another and contains in it seeds of a *himsa*

Proved right should be capable of being vindicated

cated by right means as against the rude *i.e.*, sanguinary means.

Man may and should shed his own blood for establishing what he considers to be his right. He may not shed the blood of his opponent who disputes his right.

RIVER

The river is always willing to give its water to all, but how is the river to be blamed if some one does not fill his bucket at it or does not go near it believing the water to be poisonous ?

RENUNCIATION

The secret of happy life lies in renunciation.

Renunciation made for the sake of such service is an ineffable joy of which none can deprive one.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

When, therefore, there is only a caricature of responsible government, things can be much worse than under a frankly and purely autocratic government. The latter not depending upon the votes of any class can afford to be impartial to all. The former dare not.

RULER

A ruler can issue orders only if he has acquired the highest qualification for service. His orders should be intended not to advance his own interests but the welfare of society.

Rulers now-a-days have lost sight of their duty, so that instead of setting an example of

selflessness and devotion they give themselves up to pleasure and use their powers as an instrument of self-indulgence

SACRIFICE

There is a verse which says that he who eats without sacrifice, that is without giving, is a thief

Gentleness, self sacrifice and generosity are the exclusive possessions of no one race or religion

The world is touched by sacrifice

That sacrifice which causes pain loses its sacred character and will break down under stress

The purer the sacrifice the quicker the progress

The *Gita* has enumerated many forms of sacrifice, but what greater sacrifice can there be than to serve the poor and the needy?

For us today there can be no sacrifice higher than to forget the distinctions of high and low, and to realise the equality of all men

No sacrifice is worth the name unless it is a joy

Sacrifice and a long face ill go together

Woman, I hold, is the personification of sacrifice

He must be a poor specimen of humanity who

is in need of sympathy for his sacrifice.

The mice which helplessly find themselves between the cat's teeth acquire no merit from their enforced sacrifice.

Suvaraj won without sacrifice cannot last long.

SALVATION

It is knowledge that ultimately gives salvation.

SATIHOOD—SATI

Satihood is the acme of purity. This purity cannot be attained or realised by dying. It can be attained only through constant striving, constant immolation of the spirit from day to day.

A *sati* has been described by our ancients, and the description holds good today, as one who ever fixed in her love and devotion to her husband, signalises herself by her selfless service during her husband's lifetime as well as after, and remains absolutely chaste in thought, word and deed. Self-immolation at the death of the husband is not a sign of enlightenment, but of gross ignorance as to the nature of the soul. The soul is immortal, unchangeable and immanent.....How can suicide be, then, justified in the light of these facts?..... Self-destruction is worse than futile. It cannot help to restore the dead to life, on the contrary it only takes away one more from the world of the living.

SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha is nothing if not a ceaseless quest after perfection

Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within

Satyagraha does not depend on outside help, it derives all its strength from within

The idea underlying *Satyagraha* is to convert the wrong doer,

Satyagraha is utter self-effacement, greatest humiliation, greatest patience and brightest faith

Satyagraha is gentle, it never wounds

Satyagraha is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities

Satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth

Satyagraha is itself an unmistakable mute prayer of an agonized soul

Satyagraha is a struggle in which the oldest and the weakest in body may take part if they have stout hearts

Satyagraha if it is the greatest force in the world requires also capacity for the greatest suffering with a heart without anger or malice

In *Satyagraha* there is no such thing as disappointment or heart burning

Satyagraha never fails.

In *Satyagraha* there is no place for fraud or falsehood or any kind of untruth.

All *Satyagraha* and fasting is a species of *tyaga* (Sacrifice).

Satyagraha is never adopted abruptly and never till all other and milder methods have been tried.

Satyagraha cannot be resorted to for personal gain.

In the path of *Satyagraha* there is always unflinching adherence to truth.

Both in *satyagraha* and military warfare, the position of the soldier is very nearly the same.

A clear victory of *Satyagraha* is impossible so long as there is ill-will.

In the dictionary of *Satyagraha* there is no enemy.

You should realise that unless you have developed the moral fitness to go to prison which the law of *Satyagraha* demands, your jail going will be useless and will bring you nothing but disappointment in the end.

● SATYAGRAHI

A *Satyagrahi*'s object is to convert, not to coerce the wrong-doer.

A *Satyagrahi* abjures the right of self-defence.

A *Satyagrahi* is nothing if not instinctively law abiding

A *Satyagrahi* bids goodbye to fear

The *Satyagrahi* general has to obey his inner voice

A *Satyagrahi* risks all and offers of himself a willing and pure sacrifice

In the code of the *Satyagrahi* there is no such thing as surrender to brute force

A *Satyagrahi* may not even ascend to heaven on the wings of Satan

To die without killing is the badge of a *Satyagrahi*

Let the *Satyagrahis* know that salvation comes from within,

No one can deceive a *Satyagrahi*

I have no other resource as a *Satyagrahi* than the assistance of God in every conceivable difficulty

One perfect *Satyagrahi* is enough to vindicate truth

A *Satyagrahi* may never run away from danger irrespective of whether he is alone or in the

company of many.

The sword of the *Satyagrahi* is love and the unmistakable firmness that comes from it.

There is no defeat for the *Satyagrahi*s till they give up the truth.

A *Satyagrahi* goes to prison, not to embarrass the authorities but to convert them by demonstrating to them his innocence.

A *Satyagrahi* dare not always distrust his opponents. On the contrary he must grasp the hand of friendship whenever there is the slightest protest.

SCAVENGER—SCAVENGING

Every one must be his own scavenger. Evacuation is as necessary as eating, and the best thing would be for every one to dispose of his own waste. If this is impossible, each family should see to its own scavenging.

I have felt for years, that there must be something radically wrong, where scavenging has been made the concern of a separate class in society. We have no historical record of the man, who first assigned the lowest status to this essential sanitary service. Whoever he was he by no means did us a good. We should, from our very childhood, have the idea impressed upon our minds that we are all scavengers, and the easiest way of doing so is, for every one who has realised this, to commence bread-

labour as a scavenger Scavenging, thus intelligently taken up will help one to a true appreciation of the equality of man

A scavenger who works in his service shares equal distinction with a king who uses his gifts in His name and as a mere trustee

The scriptures proclaimed that there is no distinction between a Brahman and a scavenger Both have souls, both have five organs of sense.

SCHOOLS

It is my conviction that our schools and colleges, instead of making us manly, make us obsequious, timid, indecisive and ballastless

It is gross superstition to suppose that knowledge can be obtained only by going to schools and colleges

The world produced brilliant students before schools and colleges came into being

Schools and colleges make most of us mere receptacles for holding the superfluities of knowledge Wheat is left out and mere husk is taken in

A school or a college is a sanctuary where there should be nothing that is base or unholy

Schools and colleges are factories for the making of character

There is no school equal to a decent home and

no teachers equal to honest virtuous parents.

SCIENCE—SCIENTIFIC—SCIENTIST

All sciences develop and are built up through experience.

No science has dropped from the skies in a perfect form.

Perfection is not an attribute of science.

Absolute perfection is not possible either for man or for the science that he creates.

I am not opposed to the progress of science as such. On the contrary, the scientific spirit of the West commands my admiration, and if that admiration is qualified, it is because the scientist of the West takes no note of God's lower creation.

I abhor vivisection with my whole soul. I detest the unpardonable slaughter of innocent life in the name of science and humanity so-called and all the scientific discoveries stained with innocent blood I count as of no consequence.

SELF-CONFIDENCE

The history of the world is full of men who rose to leadership, by sheer force of self-confidence, bravery and tenacity.

SELF-EVOLUTION

I do not realise that I am staking a whole

nation for self evolution, For self evolution is wholly consistent with a nation's evolution. A nation cannot advance, without the units of which it is composed advancing and conversely no individual can advance, without the nation of which he is a part also advancing.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

It is no self-government that leaves nothing for the people to do. That is pupillage.

The constructive programme is the test of our capacity for self government.

If we are to receive self government we shall have to take it. We shall never be granted self government.

SELF-HELP

Self help is the capacity to stand on one's legs without anybody's help.

SELF-INTEREST

Considerations of self-interest drive shame away and mislead men out of the straight and narrow path.

SELF-PURIFICATION

My friends, if you will become torch bearers lighting the path of a weary world towards the goal of *Adharma*, there is no other way out of it save that of self purification and penance.

SELF-REALIZATION

To develop the spirit is to build character and to enable one to work towards a knowledge of God and self-realization.

I am familiar with the superstition that self-realization is possible only in the fourth stage of life, *i.e.*, *sannyasa* (renunciation). But it is a matter of common knowledge that those who defer preparation for this invaluable experience until the last stage of life attain not self-realization but old age amounting to a second and pitiable childhood, living as a burden of this earth.

SELF-RESPECT

Dignity of the soul and self-respect are interpreted differently by different persons... I am aware that self-respect is often misinterpreted. The over-sensitive may see disrespect or hurt in almost everything. Such a man does not really understand what self-respect is. That has been my experience in many cases. But no harm accrues even if a non-violent man holds mistaken notions of self-respect. He can die cheerfully for the sake of what he believes to be his dignity and self-respect. Only he has no right to injure or kill the supposed wrong-doer.

We have lost much of our self-respect, on account of being too much Europeanised

SELFLESS

Let there be no shame about accepting remuneration, A labourer is worthy of his hire. And

he is no less selfless because he accepts remuneration. As a matter of fact, a most selfless man has to give his all to the nation—body, mind and soul. And he has still to feed himself. The nation gladly feeds such men and women and yet regards them as selfless.

SENSES

To have control over the senses is like sailing in a rudderless ship, bound to break to pieces on coming in contact with the very first rock.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES

Separate electorates to the untouchables will assure them bondage in perpetuity. The Musalmans will never cease to be Musalmans by having separate electorates.

Do you want the untouchables to remain 'untouchables' for ever? Well, the separate electorates would perpetuate the stigma.

Separate electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust.

SERVICE—SERVANT

If the body serves but the mind is absent, our service can bear no fruit at all.

There can be no self-indulgence in service.

• I hope the fragrance of your service will spread itself.

A servant does not ask to become leader. He expects no service from others. He is satisfied with what he gets and has no complaints at all. He has only the right to serve.

Now that you have the opportunity to render service, pour your soul into it and learn to enjoy it thoroughly.

When you serve, do not give yourself up to spiritual pride and say, "I do it." The service of the proud is nothing worth.

A truly religious person becomes a citizen of the world, but the service of one's own country is the stepping-stone to the service of humanity. And where service is rendered to the country consistently with the welfare of the world it finally leads to self-realization (*Moksha*).

Real affection is not shown through praise, but through service.

The human body is meant solely for service, never for indulgence.

Service of self is strictly limited by that of the country.

Self-realisation I hold to be impossible without service of, and identification with, the poorest.

Self-purification is a preliminary process, an indispensable condition of real service.

Disinterested service of the family, necessarily leads one to national service

If I find that I have a talent for the service of the poor and do not make full use of it, I shall be set down as a fool

Service must be its own and sole reward,

A scavenger who works in His service shares equal distinction with a king who uses his gifts in His name and as a mere trustee

My creed is service of God, therefore of humanity

Voluntary service means pure love

That service which is rendered without joy helps neither the servant nor the served

My services have many limitations, but God has up to now blessed them inspite of the imperfections

Disinterested service of the family necessarily leads one to national service

I must say that the service of the so called "untouchables" does not rank with me as in any way subordinate to any kind of political work

SEX—SEXUAL

Nature has created the sexes as complements of each other

Equality of the sexes does not mean equality of professions.

It is being said that restraint and abstinence are wrong, and free satisfaction of the sexual appetite is the most natural thing. There was never a more ruinous superstition.

The sex education that I stand for must have for its object the conquest and sublimation of the sex passion.

If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us.

SHACKLES

Golden shackles are far worse than iron ones.

SHRADDHA

I believe that the only true way of celebrating the *shraddha* of one's ancestors is constantly to ponder over and translate into daily life their good qualities.

SILENCE—SILENT

There are occasions when silence is wisdom.

Silence is essential for one whose life is an incessant search for truth.

I believe that it often becomes the duty of every public man to be silent even at the risk of

incurring unpopularity and even a much worse penalty as it undoubtedly becomes his duty to speak out his mind when the occasion requires it, though it may be at the cost of his life.

SIMPLICITY

And if I preach against the modern artificial life of sensual enjoyment and ask men and women to go back to the simple life....., I do so because I know that, without an intelligent return to simplicity, there is no escape from our descent to a state lower than brutality.

SINNERS

Sinners we are all to a greater or less extent, and everyone of our spiritual books—*Gita*, *Bhagwat* and *Tulsi Ramayana*—declare in no uncertain terms that whoever seeks refuge in Him, whoever takes his name, shall be free from sin. That covenant is for all mankind.

S I N S

All sins are committed in secrecy.

A hidden sin is like poison corrupting the whole body. The sooner the poison is thrown off, the better it is for society.

SLAVE—SLAVERY

When a slave begins to take pride in his fetters and hugs them like precious ornaments, the triumph of the slave-owner is complete.

We are alike slaves of the caste, of a foreign education...

A slave-holder, who decides to abolish slavery does not consult his slaves whether they desire freedom or not.

A slave-holder cannot hold a slave without putting himself or his deputy in cage of holding the slave.

Mill cloth is the symbol of the slavery of village India as *khadi* is or should be the symbol of its freedom.

So long as the superstition that men should obey unjust laws exists, so long will their slavery exist.

A slave, to be free, must continuously rise against his slavery, and be locked up in his master's cell for his rebellion. The cell-door is the door to freedom.

Shall we not free them (our children) from the curse of slavery which has made us crawl on our bellies? Being weak, we may not have the strength the will to throw off the yoke. But shall we not have the wisdom not to leave the cursed inheritance to our children?

The slave-owner is always more hurt than the slave.

Our slavery is complete when we begin to hug it.

From childhood up a slave-mentality is sedulously cultivated in us. And if we cannot think freely, how can we act freely?

A slave is a slave because he consents to slavery.

Votary as I am of non-violence, if I was given a choice between being a helpless witness to chaos and perpetual slavery, I should unhesitatingly say that I would far rather be witness to chaos in India, I would far rather be witness to Hindus and Musalmans doing one another to death than that I should witness our gilded slavery.

How can one be compelled to accept slavery? I simply refuse to do the master's bidding. He may torture, break my bones to atoms, and even kill me. He will then have my dead body, not my obedience. Ultimately, therefore, it is I who am the victor and not he, for he has failed in getting me to do what he wanted done.

SMOKING

Ever since I have grown up, I have never desired to smoke and have always regarded the habit of smoking as barbarous, dirty and harmful.

I have never understood why there is a rage for smoking throughout the world. I cannot bear to travel in a compartment full of people smoking. I become choked.

I have a horror of smoking as I have of wines.

Smoking I consider to be a vice. It is an expensive vice.

It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink, in that it acts imperceptibly

It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it siezes hold of a person.

Smoking fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and some time even causes cancer.

It is an unclean habit.

If every smoker stopped the dirty habit, refused to make of his mouth a chimney, to foul his breath, damage his teeth and dull his sense of delicate discrimination and make a present of his savings to some national cause, he would benefit both himself and the nation.

Cigarette smoking and coffee and tea drinking ...are not necessities of life. But the majority of the people who drink coffee or tea are slaves to them.

Cigars and cigarettes, whether foreign or indigenous, must be avoided. Cigarette smoking is like an opiate and the cigars that you smoke have a touch of opium about them. They get to your nerves and you cannot leave them afterwards.

Tolstoy has written nothing without having had personal experience of it. And he is much more against cigars and cigarettes than against

wine. But do not make the mistake that between drink and tobacco, drink is a lesser evil. No. If cigarette is Beelzebub, then drink is Satan.

SOCIAL SERVANT

What the vast mass of mankind does for self or at best for family, a social servant does for general good.

SOCIAL SERVICE

Social service to be most effective has to be rendered without noise. It is best performed when the left hand knoweth not what the right is doing.

SOLDIER

A soldier of peace, unlike the one of the sword, has to give all his spare time to the promotion of peace alike in war time as in peace time.

A soldier who needs the protection of even a stick, is to that extent so much the less of a soldier.

He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets.

Whilst as a soldier I must avoid no unavoidable risk, I must not recklessly run risk of being killed.

A soldier never worries as to what shall happen

to his work after him but thinks only of the immediate duty in front of him.

A true soldier does not argue, as he marches, how success is going to be ultimately achieved. But he is confident that if he only plays the humble part well, somehow or other the battle will be won.

SOUL

How can I who know the body 'o be' perishable and the soul to be imperishable mourn over the separation of body from soul?

Even a heart of flint will melt in front of a fire kindled by the power of the soul.

The only way to cause rejoicing to the soul of the departed one is to fulfil his most cherished dream in which the spirit of the departed that is ever present with us, definitely gives strength to the living, and only when they fulfil that dream of the departed, they prove themselves worthy of the sacred heritage, and will the soul of the departed rejoice.

The soul is neither male nor female, neither young nor old. The attributes belong to the body alone, as both scripture and experience testify.

SOUL FORCE

Soul-force is the prerogative of every human being.

Soul force comes only through God's grace

Suffering and trust are attributes of soul-force

India can win all by soul force

Strength of the heart connotes soul force

Soul-force is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth

SPEECHES

It is contended that it is courage, it is undoubtedly wisdom, to restrain the tongue whilst one is unprepared for action. Mere brave speech without action is letting off useless steam. Speech is necessary for those who are dumb struck. Restraint is necessary for the garrulous.

You cannot get *Swaraj* by mere speeches, shows, processions, etc. What is needed is solid, sturdy, constructive work, what the youth craves for and is fed on is only the former.

If the liberty of speech is choked, the movement for the freedom of our country from bondage is choked.

SPEED

Speed is not the end of life. Man sees more truly and lives more truly by walking to his duty.

SPIRIT

One must not grieve excessively over the one who is gone to the Great Beyond, for the departed one lives in spirit for ever, but we who are left behind must live to die in the service of humanity.

Of what use is it to force the flesh merely if the spirit refuses to co-operate? The spirit alone lives, nothing else does.

And the valour of the spirit cannot be achieved without Sacrifice, Determination, Faith, and Humility.

STATE

People are the roots, the state is the fruit. If the roots are sweet, the fruits are bound to be sweet.

Submission, therefore, to a state wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty.

In a state built on the basis of non-violence, the commission of trustees will be regulated.

In the ideal state, doctors, lawyers and the like will work solely for the benefit of society, not for self.

STRENGTH

Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will.

Strength of numbers is the delight of the timid.
The valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone.

STARVE—STARVATION—STARVING

You may starve even unto death but if at the same time the mind continues to hanker after objects of the sense, your fast is a sham and a delusion.

Starvation of the body when the mind thinks of a multiplicity of dishes is worse than useless.

Every yard of foreign cloth, brought into India, is one bit of bread snatched out of the mouths of the starving poor.

STRIKES

Whilst I have pleaded for the removal of restrictions on speech and movement of students, I am not able to support political strikes or demonstrations.

I think I have written often enough against strikes by students and pupils except on the rarest of occasions.

SUBMISSION

Submission to convention in trivial matters where there is no danger of deceiving others or oneself is often desirable and even necessary.

But submission in matters of religion, etc.

ally where there is a positive repugnance from within and a danger of deceiving our neighbours and ourselves, cannot but be debasing.

Submission to a courteous request is religion, submission to force is irreligion.

SUCCESS

My success lies in my continuous, humble, truthful striving.

SUFFERING

Real suffering bravely borne melts even a heart of stone. Such is the potency of suffering, or *tapasa*.

Suffering cheerfully endured ceases to be suffering and is transmuted into an ineffable joy.

The man who flies from suffering is the victim of endless tribulation before it has come to him, and is half-dead when it does come. But one who is cheerfully ready for anything and everything that comes, escapes all pain: his cheerfulness acts as an unaesthetic.

The hardest heart and the grossest ignorance must disappear before the rising sun of suffering, without anger and without malice.

The conviction has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the

people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering.

Suffering is the law of human beings, war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason.

The appeal of reason is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man.

Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword.

SUICIDE

The will to live is not irrational. It is also natural. Attachment to life is not a delusion. It is very real. Above all, life has a purpose. To seek to defeat that purpose is a sin. Therefore suicide is very rightly held to be a sin.

STUDENT

The student should know that the cultivation of nationalism is not a crime but a virtue.

A student cannot be an active politician and pursue his studies at the same time.

A student has no business to multiply delicacies and luxuries.

I hold it to be quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and party politics.

Students should have the greatest freedom of expression and of opinion.

A student is like a soldier (and a soldier may be 40 years old) who may not argue about matters of discipline when he has put himself and chooses to remain under it.

A student, no matter how wise or old he is, surrenders when he joins a school or college, the right of rejecting its discipline.

The students' minds must not be caged, nor for that matter those of the teachers.

Students must not take part in party politics. They are students, searchers, not politicians.

In a country groaning as India is under foreign rule, it is impossible to prevent students from taking part in movements for national freedom.

Power politics should be unknown to the student world.

All the world over students are playing a most important and effective part in shaping and strengthening national movements. It would be monstrous if the students of India did less. In

India where political consciousness has till recently been unfortunately confined in a large measure to the English educated class, their duty is, indeed, greater.

In am an autumnal leaf on the tree that might fall off at any moment ; the teachers are the young sprouts that would last longer, but fall off at their proper time ; but you, the students, are the branches that would put forth new leaves to replace the old ones.

SUPERIORITY.

Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man.

Birth and observance of form cannot determine one's superiority or inferiority.

SUPERSTITIONS—SUPERSTITIOUS

We of the East, very often, hastily consider that all that our ancestors laid down for us was nothing but a bundle of superstitions, but my own experience, extending now over a fairly long period, of the inestimable treasures of the East has led me to the conclusion that, whilst there was much that was superstitious, there is infinitely more which is not only not superstitious, but if we understand it correctly and reduce it to practice, gives life and ennobles one. Let us not, therefore, be blind by the hypnotic dazzle of the West.

SUSPICION--SUSPICIOUS

Suspicion is only foiled and only stinks.

A suspicious man is lost to himself and the world.

Let those who have made of non-violence a creed beware of suspecting opponents.

Suspicion is the brood of violence.

The canker of suspicion cannot be cured by arguments or explanations.

SWADESHI

Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the remote.

Swadeshi is a religious principle to be undergone in utter disregard of physical discomfort to individuals.

Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love

Swadeshi means permanent boycott of foreign goods.

Hinduism has become a mighty force because of the *Swadeshi* spirit underlying it.

Swadeshi does not mean drowning oneself in one's own little puddle, but making it tributary to the ocean, that is, the nation.

We do not realise that *Swaraj* is almost wholly obtainable through *Swadeshi*.

It seems to me that, before we can appreciate *Swaraj*, we should have not only love but passion for *Swadeshi*.

Every one of our acts should bear the *Swadeshi* stamp.

Swadeshi movement ought to be carried on vigorously.

Every country that has carried on the *Swaraj* movement has fully appreciated the *Swadeshi* spirit.

My *Swadeshi*.....chiefly centres round the hand-spun *khaddar* and extends to everything that can be and produced in India.

The test of *Swadeshi* is not the universality of the use of an article which goes under the name of *Swadeshi*, but the universality of participation in the production or manufacture of such article.

Swadeshi offers every man, woman and child an occasion to make a beginning in self-sacrifice of a pure type.

SWARAJ

Swaraj is a treasure to be purchased with a nation's best blood

Swaraj won without sacrifice cannot last long.

Swaraj can never be a free gift by one nation to another.

Swaraj will not drop from clouds.

Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death.

Swaraj is not meant for cowards, but for those who would mount smilingly to the gallows and refuse even to allow their eyes to be bandaged.

I have had the hardihood to say that *Swaraj* could not be granted even by God.

If *Swaraj* was not meant to civilize us, and to purify and stabilize our civilization, it would be nothing worth.

The pilgrimage to *Swaraj* is a painful climb.

To serve our villages is to establish *Swaraj*.

Swaraj is for the awakened, not for the sleepy and the ignorant.

To get *Swaraj* is to get rid of our helplessness.

Self-discipline or rule over self is the first condition of self rule or *Swaraj*.

Without rule over self, there can be no *Swaraj* or *Ram-Raj*.

To attain *Swaraj* implies the cultivation of a spirit of self-sacrifice.

In order to fit ourselves for *Swaraj* men must cultivate much greater respect than they have for

woman and purity

My *Swaraj* will not be a result of murder of others but a voluntary act of continuous self-sacrifice

The *Swaraj* of my-our-dream recognises no race or religious distinctions,

Swaraj from its very nature is not in the giving of any body

None could officiate at the altar of *Swaraj* who did not reach it with pure hands and a pure heart

The glow of *Swaraj* in action must be felt by the illiterate millions of India

The word *Swaraj* is a sacred word, a *Vedic* word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint~ which "independence" often means

Swaraj for me means freedom for the meanest of our countrymen

The *Swaraj* of my dreams is the poor man's *Swaraj*

Swaraj is the sum total of all activities that go to build up a free and vigorous nation conscious of the strength that comes from right doing

Swaraj is a meaningless term, if we desire to keep a fifth of India (untouchables) under perpetual subjection and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture

If we have democratic *Swaraj*—the *kisan* must hold power in all its phases including political power.

If *Swaraj* is attained by the effort of the whole people—the *kisans* must come into their own and have the uppermost voice.

Without the problem of minorities being solved there is no *Swaraj* for India, there is no freedom for India.

Swaraj means ability to regard every inhabitant of India as our own brother or sister.

SWORD

Like opium production, the world manufacture of swords needs to be restricted.

The sword is probably responsible for more misery in the world than opium.

TAKLI

It (*takli*) is the solace of the perturbed heart and a mute companion. The wheel sings to you and may therefore distract your attention. The *takli* is eloquent in its very muteness, and in that way is perhaps a fitter representative of the dumb millions. Try it and you will experience the same joy that many of us do.

TASTE

The real seat of taste is not the tongue but

the mind

TEACHERS--TEACHINGS

I know that some of the teachers too do not lead pure and clean lives To them I say that even if they impart all the knowledge in the world to their students but inculcate not truth and purity among them, they will have betrayed them and instead of raising them set them on the downward road to perdition .

All your scholarship, all your study of the scriptures will be in vain if you fail to translate their teachings into your daily life

I have always felt that the true text-book for the pupil is his teacher

It is possible for a teacher situated miles away to affect the spirit of the pupils by his way of living

An imperfect teacher may be tolerable in mundane matters, but not in spiritual matters

TEMPLES

Our temples are not meant for show but for expression of humility and simplicity which are typical of a devotional mood

Bitter experience has taught me that all temples are not houses of God They can be habitations of the devil These places of worship have

no value unless the keeper is a good man of God. Temples, mosques, churches are what man makes them to be.

I do not regard the existence of temples as a sin or superstition. Some form of common worship, and a common place of worship appear to be a human necessity. Whether the temples should contain images or not is a matter of temperament and taste. I do not regard a Hindu or Roman Catholic place of worship containing images as necessarily bad or superstitious and a mosque or a Protestant place of worship being good or free from superstition merely because of their exclusion of images.

Churches, mosques and temples, which cover so much hypocrisy and humbug and shut poorest out of them, seem but a mockery of God and His worship when one sees the eternally renewed temple of worship under the vast blue canopy inviting every one of us to real worship, instead of abusing His name by quarreling in the name of religion.

Then I ask you to approach these temples not as if they represented a body of superstitions. If you will approach these temples with faith in them you will know each time you visit them you will come away from them purified, and with your faith more and more in the living God

It depends on our mental condition whether we gain something or do not gain anything by

going to the temples

We have to approach these temples in a humble and penitent mood. They are so many houses of God. Of course, God resides in every human form indeed in every particle of His creation, everything that is on this earth. But since we very fallible mortals do not appreciate the fact that God is everywhere, we impute special sanctity to temples and think that God resides there. And so when we approach these temples we must cleanse our bodies, our minds and our hearts and we should enter them in a prayerful mood and ask God to make us purer men and purer women for having entered their portals.

And I would like to possess the ability to defend with my life the thousands of holy temples which sanctify this land of ours. My alliance with the Mussalmans presupposes their perfect tolerance for my idols and temples.

TEMPTATION

As we know that a man often succumbs to temptation however much he may resist it, we also know that Providence often intercedes and saves him in spite of himself.

THOUGHT

Always aim at complete harmony of thought and word and deed. Always aim at purifying your thoughts and everything will be well.

There is nothing more potent than thought. Deed follows word and word follows thought.

The word is the result of a mighty thought, and where the thought is mighty and pure the result is always mighty and pure.

Hide not your thoughts. If it is shameful to reveal them, it is more shameful to think them.

Modern scientists recognise the potency of thought and that is why it is said that as a man thinks so does he become.

And he whose thoughts are fixed on God will be godly.

I would suggest that we should avoid even thinking thoughts we would hide from the world.

The potency of thought unsuppressed but unembodied is far greater than that of thought embodied that is translated into action. And when the action is brought under due control, it reacts upon, and regulates the thought itself. Thought thus translated into action becomes a prisoner and is brought under subjection.

Control over thought is a long, painful and laborious process. But I am convinced that, no time, no labour and no pain is too much for the glorious result to be reached.

The purity of thought is possible only with a faith in God bordering on definite experience.

In a vast country like this (India), there must be room for all schools of honest thought.

TIME

Time is a merciless enemy, if it is also a merciless friend and healer.

TRUST

Trust begets trust.

I believe in trusting.

Non-violence cannot but trust.

✓ TRUSTEESHIP—TRUSTEE

The trusteeship theory is not unillateral, and does not in the least imply superiority of the trustee.

If the trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it, will disappear.

A trustee has no heir but the public.

TRUTH

Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

The way of peace is the way of truth.

Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness.

Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility.

Truth is not truth merely because it is ancient.

Truth, though seemingly harsh, has to be uttered when utterance becomes relevant, indeed imperative.

The first maxim of right path is to tell the truth, to think the truth and to act the truth.

Truth is the first thing to be sought for and beauty and goodness will then be added into you.

No one has a monopoly of truth.

Truth is the exclusive property of no single scripture.

My creed is truth and non-violence in their extreme form.

To a devotee of truth his activities come in the natural course of things.

I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God.

For me God and Truth are convertible terms.

If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of the truth, you must reduce yourself to zero.

It is my firm faith that we can conquer the whole world by truth and love.

But truth is hard as adamant and tender as a blossom

Truth is like a vast tree which yields more and more fruit, the more you nurture it

The deeper the search in the mine of truth the richer the discovery of the gems buried there, in the shape of openings for an ever greater variety of service

In the march towards Truth, anger selfishness hatred, etc naturally give way, for otherwise Truth would be impossible to attain

Only truth quenches untruth

We must speak the truth under a shower of bullets

Everything appears to me to be lifeless without truth

All the religions of the world while they may differ in other respects, unitedly proclaim that nothing lives in this world but truth

I am convinced that untruth will never benefit the country, and even if untruth seems to bring immediate benefit I firmly believe that Truth ought never to be abandoned

Truth I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the Law of Love

Without truth there is no love.

The only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence.

TYRANT

The only tyrant I accept in this world is the still voice within.

UNEMPLOYMENT

I have indeed wept to see the stark poverty and unemployment in our country, but I must confess our own negligence and ignorance are largely responsible for it.....There is enough employment in India for all who will work with their hands and feet honestly. God has given everyone the capacity to work and earn more than his daily bread, and whoever is ready to use that capacity is sure to find work.

UNITY

Unity cannot be achieved by flattery.

Unity to be real must stand the severest strain without breaking.

The need of the moment is not one religion, but mutual respect and tolerance of devotees of the different religions. We want to reach not the dead level, but unity in diversity. Any attempt to root out traditions, effects of heredity, climate and other surroundings is not only bound to fail but is a sacrilege. The soul of religions is one, but

it is encased in a multitude of forms. The latter will persist to the end of time. Wise men will ignore the outward crust and see the same soul living under a variety of crusts.

UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability is a sin, a grievous crime and will eat up Hinduism if the latter does not kill this snake in time.

Untouchability is a hydra-headed monster appearing in many shapes.

If untouchability was a part of the Hindu creed, I should decline to call myself a Hindu.

The ulcer of untouchability has gone so deep that it seems to pervade our life.

The monster of untouchability has invaded every form of society in India.

Removal of untouchability is a spiritual process.

There can be no room in such an India (India of my dreams) for the curse of untouchability.

Untouchability as it is practised in Hinduism today is, in my opinion, a sin against God and man and is, therefore, like a poison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism.

Untouchability is the product, not of the caste system, but of the distinction of high and low that has crept into Hinduism and is corroding it.

In its inception, untouchability was a rule of sanitation and still is in all parts of the world outside India. That is to say, an unclean person or thing is untouchable but immediately his or its uncleanliness is shed, he or it is no longer untouchable.

Untouchability of a healthy kind is undoubtedly to be found in the *Shastras* and it is universal in all religions. It is a rule of sanitation.

This untouchability is the greatest blot on Hinduism, and I have not hesitated to say that if untouchability lives, Hinduism dies.

I want you (women), above everything else, to root out untouchability from your hearts.

Untouchability is the sin of the Hindus.

We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of untouchability.

The fight against untouchability is a religious fight.

Untouchability poisons Hinduism as a drop of arsenic poisons milk.

The scriptures proclaimed that there is no distinction between a Brahman and a scavenger. Both have souls ; both have five organs of sense.

I do know that Hinduism is not dying. is not

going to die, because I see untouchability is a corpse struggling with the last breath to hold on for a little while.

Who can deny the custom of untouchability is immoral, barbarous and cruel ?

Untouchability is a weedy growth, as we weed out the weeds that we see growing in wheat fields or rice fields.

What is needed is destruction of untouchability, and when you have done it, the bar sinister which has been imposed by an insolent 'superior' class upon an 'inferior' class will be destroyed.

We are all worshippers of one God Whom we worship under different names. We must, therefore, realise our essential unity and give up untouchability, as well as the spirit of superiority and inferiority between human beings.

Forget altogether that some are touchables and some are untouchables.

Every species, human and sub-human, has some distinguishing mark, so that you can tell a man from a beast or a dog from a cow and so on. Have the so-called untouchables any distinguishing mark declaring them to be untouchables ? They are as much human as every one of us, and we do not regard even sub-human beings as bearing the mark of untouchability. Why and whence, then, this monstrous injustice ?.....I want you to cast off that sin, if you still happen to have it in you.

And pray understand, mere removal of physical untouchability does not mean expiation.

The removal of untouchability means the removal of all distinctions of superiority and inferiority attaching to birth.

Let untouchability result from a living conviction that all are one in the eyes of God, that the Father in Heaven will deal with us all with even-handed justice.

VALIANT

The valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone.

VALOUR

For want of valour is want of religious faith.

And you are all here to cultivate the valour of the spirit.

Be you one or many, the valour is the only true valour, all else is false.

And the valour of the spirit cannot be achieved without Sacrifice, Determination, Faith and Humility.

VARIETY

Variety is worth cherishing up to a certain limit, but if the limit is exceeded, amenities and customs masquerading under the name of variety are subversive of nationalism.

VARNA

But I believe in *Varna dharma* which is the law of life. I believe that some people are born to teach and some to engage in trade and agricultur and some to do manual labour, so much so that these occupations become hereditary.

The law of *Varna* is nothing but the law of conservation of energy. Why should my son not be a scavenger if I am one ?

I do, however, believe in *Varna* which is based on hereditary occupations,

Varnas are four, to mark four universal occupations—imparting knowledge, defending the defenceless, carrying on agriculture and commerce, and performing service through physical labour. These occupations are common to all mankind, but Hinduism having recognised them as the law of our being, had made use of it in regulating social relations and conduct

When Hindus were seized with inertia, abuse of *Varna* resulted in innumerable castes, with unnecessary and harmful restrictions as to inter-marriage and inter-dining. The *Varna* has nothing to do with these distinctions. People of different *Varnas* may inter-marry and inter dine. These restrictions may be necessary in the interest of chastity and hygiene. But a *Brhman* who marries a *Shudra* girl, or vice versa, cummits no offence against the law of *Varna*.

VEGETARIANISM—VEGETARIAN

Vegetarianism is one of the priceless gifts of Hinduism. It may not be lightly given up.

By instinct and upbringing I personally favour a purely vegetarian diet and have for years been experimenting in finding a suitable vegetarian combination.

It is necessary to correct the error that vegetarianism has made us weak in mind or body or passive or inert in action. The greatest Hindu reformers have been the activist in their generation and they have invariably been vegetarians.

VICE

Vice pays homage to virtue, and sometimes the way it chooses is to expect virtue not to fall from its pedestal even whilst vice is rampant round about.

Crime and vice generally require darkness for prowling. They disappear when light preys upon them.

VILLAGE—VILLAGER,—VILLAGE WORKERS

If the village perishes India will perish too.

The cities are capable of taking care of themselves. It is the villages we have to turn to.

We have to disabuse them (villages) of their prejudices, their superstitions, their narrow out-

look and we can do so in no other manner than that of staying amongst them and sharing their joys and sorrows and spreading education and intelligent information amongst them.

India lives in her villages, not in her cities.

The key to *Swaraj* is not with the cities but with the villages.

When I succeed in ridding the villages of their poverty, I have won *Swaraj* for you and for the whole of India.

I have believed and repeated times without number that India is to be found not in its few cities but in its 7,00,000 villages.'

But we town-dwellers have believed that India is to be found in its towns' and the villages were created to minister to their needs.

I have found that the town-dweller has generally exploited the villager, in fact he has lived on the poor villager's subsistence.

Villages have suffered long from neglect by those who have had the benefit of education,

We have got to be ideal villagers, not the villagers with their queer ideas about sanitation and giving no thought to how they eat and what they eat.

The villager's food is deficient in vitamins ; many of them can be supplied by fresh green leaves.

Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a Republic or *Panchayat* having full powers.

We are guilty of a grievous wrong against the villagers and the only way in which we can expiate is by encouraging them to revive their lost industries and arts by assuring them of a ready market.

Village work...means real education, not in the three Rs, but in opening the minds of the villagers to the needs of true life befitting thinking beings which humans are supposed to be.

We have to tackle the triple malady which holds our villages fast in its grip: (i) want of corporation sanitation, (ii) deficient diet ; (iii) inertia. They are not interested in their own welfare.

The village work frightens us. We who are townbred find it trying to take to the village life. For the work that is required of him each worker should have thorough knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the science of spinning. If the worker is to live a model life in his village, he must know also the laws of civic sanitation and provide an object lesson in sanitation to the

villagers He should know the domestic treatment of diseases of daily occurrence He should know simple accountancy Above all he must lead a pure and chaste life, if he is to make his mark amongst the villagers and gain their confidence Naturally a village worker must find happiness in a simple and frugal life

At one time cities were dependent on the villages Now it is the reverse There is no inter-dependence Villages are being exploited and drained by the cities

What I am against is large scale production of things villages can produce without difficulty

Our villages have today become seats of dirt and insanitation and the villagers come to an early and untimely death If only we had given due recognition to the status of the *bhangi* as equal to that of a Brahmin as in fact and justice he deserves, our villages today no less than their inhabitants would have looked a picture of cleanliness and order We should have to a large extent been free from the ravages of a host of diseases which directly spring from our uncleanness and lack of sanitary habits

VIOLENCE

Violence, like water, when it has an outlet, rushes forward furiously with an overwhelming force.

Our violence in word and deed is but a feeble echo of the surging violence of thought in us.

There is no such thing as unadulterated violence in the world.

Obstruction, rowdism and the like are naked violence.

Violence does not mean emancipation from fear.

It is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence.

Those who die unresistingly, are likely to still the fury of violence by their wholly innocent sacrifice.

Experience shows that the success of violence has been short-lived.

Greed and deceit are often the offspring as they are equally often the parents of violence.

Naked violence repels like the naked skeleton shorn of flesh, blood and the velvety skin.

VIRTUE

To trust is a virtue. It is weakness that begets distrust.

We should cease to grow the moment we cease to discriminate between virtue and vice.

The world, though not itself virtuous, pays an unconscious homage to virtue.

Let us not seek to prop virtue by imagining hellish torture after death for vice and *houris* hereafter as a reward for virtue in this life. If virtue has no attraction in itself it must be a poor thing to be thrown away on the dung heap.

There comes a time in man's life when virtue itself becomes vice : Virtue which was virtue in its time, when torn from the purpose to which it was dedicated, becomes vice.

VIRTUOUS

One virtuous son is better than one hundred loafers.

V O W

A vow is a purely religious act which cannot be taken in a fit of passion.

To shirk taking vows betrays indecision and want of resolution.

My religion teaches me that a promise once made or a vow once taken for a worthy object may not be broken.

It is easy enough to take a vow under a stimulating influence. But it is difficult to keep to it especially in the midst of temptation

My own opinion and that of many others is that promises or vows are necessary for the strongest of us.

Acts which are not possible by ordinary self-denial, become possible with the aid of vows which require extraordinary self-denial.

It is certainly better not to take a vow than having taken it to break it: one cannot be too cautious about taking vows.

A vow is fixed and unalterable determination to do a thing, when such a determination is related to something noble which can only uplift the man who makes the resolve.

A vow is to all other indifferent resolves what a right angle is to all other angles. And just as a right angle gives an invisible and correct measure, so does a man of vows, rightly followed, give of himself an unvariable and correct measure.

I know that pledges and vows are, and should be, taken on rare occasions. A man who takes a vow every now and then is sure to stumble.

Your capacity to keep your vow will depend on the purity of your life. A gambler or a drunkard, or a dissolute character, can never keep a vow.

Rules of general application do not serve the same purpose as an individual vow.

WARRIOR

A warrior loves to die, not on the sick-bed, but on the battle-field.

WEALTH

In this, of all countries in the world, possession of inordinate wealth by individuals should be held as a crime against Indian humanity.

Let not possession of wealth be synonymous with degradation and profligacy.

The rich, moneyed class ought to use their God-given wealth for philanthropic purposes.

No man or woman is entitled to the possession of wealth, unless he or she has given a fair share of it to the poor and the helpless. It is a religious and social obligation and has been called a sacrifice by the *Bhagwad Gita*. He who does not offer this sacrifice has been called a thief.

WEST

Again, I wish to utter a word of caution against your believing that I am an indiscriminate despiser of every thing that comes from the West.

There are many things which I have myself assimilated from the West.

The one thing which we can and must learn from the West is the science of Municipal sanitation.

And as my patriotism is inclusive and admits of no enmity or ill-will, I do not hesitate, in spite of my horror of Western materialism, to take from the West what is beneficial for me.

I have learnt a great deal from the West and I am grateful to it.

I should consider myself unfortunate if contact with and the literature of the West had no influence on me.

If any one thinks that the people in the West are innocent of humanity he is sadly mistaken. The ideal of humanity in the West is perhaps lower, but their practice of it is very much more thorough than ours. We rest content with lofty ideal and are slow or lazy in its practice.

WESTERN CIVILISATION

My resistance to Western civilisation is really a resistance to its indiscriminate and thoughtless imitation based on the assumption that Asiatics are fit only to copy everything that comes from the West.

WICKEDNESS—WICKED

After all no one is wicked by nature. And if others are wicked, are we the less so?

One may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him.

Those whom we regard as wicked as a rule return the compliment and in their turn accuse us of what we charge them with.

WIDOW

Voluntary widowhood is a priceless boon in Hinduism ; enforced widowhood is a curse.

The existence of girl-widows is a blot upon Hindusim.

I shudder to see a child-widow and shiver with rage when a husband just widowed, with brutal indifference contracts another marriage.

If a young man of 18 being widowed could remarry why should not a widow of that age ?

The curse of every widow, who is burning within to remarry but dare not for fear of a cruel custom, descends upon Hindu society so long as it keeps the widow under an unforgivable bondage.

I have repeatedly said that every widow has as much right to remarry as every widower.

WILL

If we develop the force of will, we shall find that we do not need the force of arms.

WISDOM

There was true wisdom in the sages of old

having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people.

Even as wisdom often comes from the mouths of babes, so does it often come from the mouths of old people.

Not mad rush, but unperturbed calmness brings wisdom.

Wisdom, it is said, often comes from the mouths of babes and sucklings.

Wisdom is no monopoly of one continent or one race.

WOMAN

Woman is the incarnation of *Ahimsa*.

Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and therefore, non-violence.

Woman, I hold, is the personification of self-sacrifice.

Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities.

Let it be man's privilege to protect woman, but let no woman of India feel helpless in the absence of man or in the event of his failing to perform the sacred duty of protecting her.

The real ornament of woman is her character, her purity.

Man has converted woman into a domestic drudge and an instrument of his pleasure, instead of regarding her as his helpmate and better half!

Women do not know what influence for good they can exert on their husbands.

Domestic slavery of woman is a symbol of our barbarism.

If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior.

If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed is woman less brute than man.

If the will to die rather than to yield is there, no monster can make the woman yield.

If I was born a woman I would rise in rebellion against any pretention on the part of man that woman is born to be his plaything.

I do not believe in women working for a living or undertaking commercial enterprises.

I have worshipped woman as the living embodiment of the spirit of service and sacrifice.

I passionately desire the utmost freedom for our women.

The privilege of awakened woman should be to stop and eradicate age-long evils.

Let not women ever despise their sex or deplore that they were not born men.

Silent and dignified suffering is the badge of her sex.

Man and woman are of equal rank, but they are not identical.

Poor woman is mightier than man.

To call woman the weaker sex is a libel ; it is man's injustice to woman.

Women, in the new order, will be part time workers, their primary function being to look after the home.

Would that woman will realise the power she has latent in her for good, if she has also for mischief !

Dear Sisters, the future of India lies on your knees, for you will nurture the future generation. You can bring up the children of India to become simple, God-fearing and brave men and women, or you can coddle them to be weaklings, unfit to brave the storms of life and used to foreign fineries which they would find it difficult in after-life to discard.

It (the female sex) is the nobler of the two, for it is even today the embodiment of self-sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith and knowledge.

A woman's intuition has often proved truer than man's arrogant assumption of superior knowledge. There is method in putting Sita before Rama and Râdha before Krishna.

To call a woman a member of the 'weaker sex' is a libel. In what way is woman the weaker sex, I do not know. If the implication is that she lacks the brute instinct of man, or does not possess it in the same measure as man, the charge may be admitted. But, then, woman becomes, as she is, the nobler sex. If she is weak in striking, she is strong in suffering.

A woman no more loses her honour or virtue, because a brute tenders her senseless and ravishes her, than a man loses his because a wicked woman administers to him a stupefying drug and makes him do what she likes.

If society is not to be destroyed by insane wars of nations against nations, the woman will have to play her part, not manfully, as some are trying to do, but womanfully.

She won't better humanity by vying with man in his ability to destroy life, mostly without purpose. Let it be her privilege to wean the erring man from his error, which will envelop in his ruin that of woman also.

Women !-If you want to play your part in the world's affairs, you must refuse to deck yourselves for pleasing man.

Very few women come out to serve their fellow-countrymen. Women are the very incarnation of service, but at present they minister only to their own families. Why should they not extend the field of their ministry so as to embrace the whole of India ?

Multitudes of women live in idleness; who will induce them to take to industry ?

I am deeply pained when I see women heavily bedecked with ornaments. Who will explain to them that these trinkets are no aid to beauty ?

Women in the West are doing much work that was supposed to be reserved for men. I do not mean that all their activities are worthy of imitation, but they have certainly upset many calculations of mere man.

In Burma women manage everything.

Where there is a non-violent atmosphere, where there is the constant teaching of *ahimsa*, woman will not regard herself as dependent, weak or helpless. She is not really helpless when she is really pure. Her purity makes her conscious of her strength.

I have always held that it is physically impossible to violate a woman against her will. The outrage takes place only when she gives way to fear or does not realise her moral strength. If she cannot meet the assailant's might, her purity will give her the might to die before he succeeds in violating her.

It is my firm conviction that a fearless woman who knows that her purity is her best shield can never be dishonoured. However beastly the man, he will bow in shame before the flame of her dazzling purity.

A woman is worthy of condemnation only when she is a willing party to her dishonour. In no case are adultery and assault synonymous terms.

When woman, freed from man's snares, rises to the full height and rebels against man's legislation and institutions designed by him, her rebellion no doubt non-violent, will be none-the-less effective.

WORD

God's word is; "He who strives never perishes". I have implicit faith in that promise. Though therefore from my weakness I fail a thousand times, I will not lose faith but hope that I shall see the Light when the flesh has been brought under perfect subjection as some day it must.

WORKERS—WORK

Indeed a sincere worker prefers work to responsibility of office and by not being on the executive escapes the terrible wranglings that take place therein.

Time must work in their favour, for it always does in favour of honest and industrious workers.

WORRY



There is nothing that wastes the body like worry, and one who has any faith in God should be ashamed to worry about anything whatsoever.

But to ensure absolute freedom from worry requires a living utter faith which is a plant of slow, almost unperceived, growth and requires to be constantly watered by tears that accompany genuine prayer.

Why worry one's head over a thing that is inevitable? Why die before one's death?

WRONG

My soul refuses to be satisfied so long as it is a helpless witness of a single wrong or a single misery.

But it is not possible for me—a weak, frail, miserable being, to mend every wrong or to hold myself free of blame for all the wrong I see.

Wrong, like vice, flourishes in secrecy. It dies of sun light.

YAJNA

Yajna means an act directed to the welfare of others, done without desiring any return for it, whether of a temporal or spiritual nature.

YOUNG MEN

My hope lies in the youth of the country.

Young men...claiming...to be the fathers of tomorrow, should be the salt of the nation.~ If the salt loses its flavour, wherewith shall it be salted ?

Youth will be emotional all the world over. Hence the utter necessity of pre-conceived and deliberate *Brahmecharya* during the study period, i.e., at least 25 years.

Innocent youth is a priceless possession not to be squandered away for the sake of a momentary excitement miscalled pleasure.

Such of them (the youth) as are prey to vice are not vicious by nature. They are helplessly and thoughtlessly drawn to it. They must realize the harm that it has done them and society. They must understand too that nothing but a rigorously disciplined life will save them and the country from utter ruin.

I ask you (young men) to go to villages and bury yourselves there, not as their masters or benefactors, but as their humble servants. Let them know what to do and how to change their modes of living from your daily conduct and way of living. Only feeling will be of no use, just like steam which by itself is of no account unless it is kept under proper control—when it becomes a mighty force.

I ask you (young men) to go forth as messengers of God carrying balm for the wounded soul of India !

ZAMINDARS

The Congress will stand by you (*Zamindars*) certainly. But you will have to make your life correspond to your surroundings.

I would not mind your using gold plates provided your tenants were comfortable enough to afford silver plates, but where their life is one long drawn out agony, how dare you have these luxuries?

In Bengal some years ago I was the guest of a *zamindar* who served me my milk and fruit in gold bowls and plates. The good host naturally thought, that he was doing me the greatest honour by placing before me his costliest plates. He could not know what was passing through my mind. Where did he get these golden plates from? "I was asking myself, and the answer I got was, "From the substance of the ryots". How then could I reconcile myself to those costly luxuries?

You will remember, how, ... on the occasion, of the opening of the Hindu University, I shocked the Rajas and Maharajas by a reference to their glittering pomp and glory, and raised quite an uproar. My views are the same today; only experience and life among the humble folk have confirmed them all the more.

The *Zamindars* would do well to take the time

by the forelock. Let them cease to be mere rent collectors. They should become trustees and trusted friends of their tenants. They should limit their privy purse. Let them forego the questionable requisites they take from the tenants in the shape of gifts on marriage and other occasions, or *nazrana* on transfer of holdings from one *kisan* to another or on restoration to the same *kisan* after eviction for non-payment of rent.

I say it (the *Zamindari* system) should be mended, and if it cannot be mended, it would end itself.

They (the *Zamindars*) are indeed part and parcel of the bureaucracy. But they are its helpless tools. Must they for ever remain so? We may do nothing to put them away from us. If they change their mentality, their services can be utilized for the nation. If they will not change, they will die a natural death. If we have non-violence in us we will not frighten them. We have to be doubly careful when the Congress has power.

They (*Zamindars*) should give them (*Kisans*) fixity of tenure, take a lively interest in their welfare, provide well-managed schools for their children, night schools for adults, hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, look after the sanitation of villages and in a variety of ways make them feel that they the *Zamindars* are their true friends

taking only a fixed commission for their manifold services. They should trust Congressmen. They may themselves become Congressmen and know that the Congress is a bridge between the people and the Government. All who have the true welfare of the people at heart can harness the services of the Congress.

Congressmen will, on their part, see to it that *Kisans* scrupulously fulfil their obligations to the *Zamindars*. I mean not necessarily, the statutory but the obligations which they have themselves admitted to be just. They must reject the doctrine that their holdings are absolutely theirs to the exclusion of the *Zamindars*. They are or should be members of a joint family in which the *Zamindar* is the head guarding their rights against encroachment.

Whatever the law may be, the *Zamindar* to be defensible must approach the conditions of a joint family.

Why can we not say to the *Zamindars* "These are the evils which we ask you to remove yourselves?" I admit that this presumes trust in human nature.

JAI HIND